



Routledge Studies on the Asia-Pacific Region

DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION IN JAPAN

ISSUES IN BUSINESS AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Edited by

Lailani Alcantara and Yoshiki Shinohara



Diversity and Inclusion in Japan

Alcantara, Shinohara, and their contributors evaluate the current state of diversity and inclusion (D&I) within business and higher education in Japan, and the importance of D&I to the growth of Japan's economy and the enrichment of its society.

Japan is widely understood to be a homogenous and patriarchal society, and while this is changing and was never wholly accurate, it certainly faces challenges in becoming more diverse and inclusive, particularly in its business and higher educational cultures. Grounded in research and offering best practices, the chapters in this book analyze critical issues relating to D&I in Japan at the individual, organizational, and industry levels. They present both a longitudinal analysis of the evolution and performance outcomes of D&I policies in Japanese corporations across industries, and rich studies of different underrepresented groups in Japan. These groups include immigrants, women, and people with disabilities. The contributors prescribe policies for promoting D&I in higher education, within businesses, and at the governmental level.

This book is an essential contribution to D&I discourse in the Japanese context that will be of great value to scholars of Japanese society and business, and an important extended case study for those looking at D&I more widely.

Lailani L. Alcantara is a professor at the School of Management of Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University. She received her Ph.D. in management from the University of Tsukuba as a Japanese government scholar. She has published journal articles and cases in the areas of international management and organization science and earned professional certificates in management and leadership from AACSB, Harvard University, and Cornell University. Her research has appeared in the *Journal of International Management*, *Long-Range Planning*, and *Asian Business & Management*, among others. She is the founding director of the Center for Inclusive Leadership at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, <https://en.apu.ac.jp/cil/>.

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Issues in Business and Higher Education

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Yoshiki Shinohara**



ROUTLEDGE



Routledge

Taylor & Francis Group

LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2023
by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an Informa business

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-032-28989-2 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-032-28990-8 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-29950-9 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003299509

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Deanta Global Publishing Services, Chennai, India

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Preface

Diversity and inclusion (D&I) has become an imperative for organizations and a critical part of conversations at the national and global levels. Scholars, practitioners, and policy makers seek to address the basic questions about diversity and inclusion: Why diversity and inclusion matters? How diverse and inclusive our organization or society is? How can organizations and societies become more inclusive? These questions are fundamental and critical to enriching our discourse on diversity and inclusion and making an impact on business and society. Japan is no exception.

This book offers insights into D&I within business and higher education in Japan and is expected to encourage more debate on and interest in D&I-related research and practice. This book can serve as important reading material for researchers, students, and practitioners working in the fields of strategy, human resource management, organizational behavior, disability studies, higher education, and public policy.

Acknowledgments

This book was supported by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) and the Center for Inclusive Leadership (CIL) at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University. We thank Prof. Yoichiro Sato for his support, our chapter contributors for their efforts toward the completion of the book, our chapter reviewers for their careful reading and constructive remarks and our CIL staff for their dedication to the book project and CIL mission of promoting inclusive leadership in research, education, and practice.

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1 Introduction

Enriching our discourse on diversity and inclusion in Japan

Lailani Alcantara and Yoshiki Shinohara

This book, *Diversity and Inclusion in Japan: Issues in Business and Higher Education*, is motivated by several observations. First, diversity and inclusion (D&I) have become imperative for many organizations and a critical part of conversation at the national and global levels. Scholars, practitioners, and policymakers seek to address basic questions regarding D&I, such as the importance of D&I, the extent of diversity and inclusion in organizations and society, and ways for organizations and societies to become more inclusive. These questions are fundamental and critical for enriching the discourse on D&I and creating an impact on business and society.

Increasing attention to D&I is largely driven by various sustainability agendas of governments and institutions globally. At least 8 of 17 sustainable development goals (SDGs) proposed by the United Nations (UN) are often directly linked to D&I, including good health and well-being (SDG3); quality education (SDG4); gender equality (SDG5); decent work and economic growth (SDG 8); industry, innovation, and infrastructure (SDG 9); reduced inequalities (SDG 10); sustainable cities and communities (SDG 11); and peace, justice, and strong institutions (SDG 16). Governments are expected to formulate policies and implement national and international strategies based on the SDGs. For instance, the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) established the Global Education Monitoring Report in 2002 with a mandate from 160 governments to support policymaking and promote the achievement of SDG 4 on inclusive and equitable quality education, addressing the diverse needs for education at the national, regional, and global levels. The UN Women set global standards for advancing SDG 5 on gender equality and women's empowerment.

Consulting giant McKinsey published a series of reports that investigated business cases regarding diversity, beginning with *Why diversity matters* in 2015, followed by *Delivering through diversity* in 2018, and *Diversity Wins* in 2020, which suggests that more diverse companies are likely to outperform their peers. These reports also demonstrate that the positive correlation between board diversity and financial performance found in previous years has become significant. Such a strengthening relationship between diversity and performance motivates companies to advance their D&I efforts further. However, McKinsey also reports that gender and ethnic diversity have progressed slowly across countries, and some

leaders view D&I as a luxury that companies could not afford. The majority of the companies studied have failed to improve gender and ethnic diversity at the executive level. Furthermore, only companies that moved from representation to inclusion by creating a workplace where employees feel belonging and perceive equality and fairness of opportunity are able to gain the benefits of diversity that resulted in better financial performance.

Along with the growing interest of policymakers and practitioners in D&I, there has also been a surge of studies on D&I in social science. A search of the literature on the Web of Science using the keywords “diversity and inclusion” or “D&I” showed an increase from 152 studies in 2010 to 827 in 2020. The majority of these studies (approximately 60%) are in the fields of education and management. A further investigation of the research trend in the fields of education and management using the keywords “diversity” and “inclusion” separately yielded 24,281 and 13,447 articles, respectively. As such, there are more studies focusing on diversity than inclusion; however, scholars’ attention to inclusion significantly increased in recent years. The number of studies focusing on inclusion has increased sixfold compared to the threefold increase in diversity studies.

Several scholars have also viewed D&I not only as a business imperative but also a moral and social imperative. Mor Barak (2020) suggests that D&I is one of the three domains of social good, which embodies “ideals that directly align with the values and ethical obligations of the social work profession” (p.140), in addition to environmental justice, sustainability, peace, and collaboration. Furthermore, Bernstein et al. (2020) propose a theory that guides organizations’ ethical actions to move beyond diversity management and enhance inclusion to improve organizational performance and generate benefits in the form of equity and social justice.

Furthermore, there is currently a lack of studies on D&I in Japan. The developments discussed above and the global influence of Japan may suggest a rich strand of literature on D&I in the Japanese context. However, an analysis of articles on the Web of Science revealed only five articles on D&I in Japan, with the earliest publication in 2016, and 36 articles on inclusion. Japan is an integral part of the global society with immense influence on business and economy. Therefore, developing a deeper understanding of D&I in Japan is important for both intellectual and practical reasons.

Japan has unique institutional and cultural environments, which may enrich studies on D&I and reveal the opportunities and challenges of promoting D&I in the Japanese context. For instance, one of the characteristics of Japanese interpersonal relationships is the distinction between *uchi* (inner, 内) and *soto* (outer, 外), where *uchi* refers to relationships with people who belong to the same community, group, or organization, and have strong emotional ties, while *soto* refers to relationships with people that one has no intimate relatedness with and tends to disregard, be hostile to, and compete with (Takata, 2003). Such cultural aspects may affect the participation of people perceived as outsiders. As highlighted by Shiobara (2020), practices and movements intended to exclude others or outsiders remain prevalent in contemporary Japan.

Another characteristic is the high masculinity of the society. According to Hofstede et al. (2010), Japan has a masculinity score of 95, the second highest in the world. Masculinity is based on the culturally defined roles and expectations of men and women. According to Hofstede et al. (2010):

A society is called masculine when emotional gender roles are clearly distinct: men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success, whereas women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. A society is called feminine when emotional gender roles overlap: both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life.

(p. 140).

While the rate of women's participation in employment has increased by 2.6% from 2009 to 44.5% in 2019, many women hold part-time or noncareer jobs (Mishima, 2019). Moreover, the World Economic Forum (2021) demonstrated that the gender gap in Japan is larger than in other advanced countries, with the Global Gender Gap Index placing Japan at 121st out of 156 countries. Therefore, it is important to investigate how D&I can be promoted and how the findings of existing research can be applied to Japan's cultural background.

In addition, Japan is confronted by a number of social issues that have wide-ranging economic and business consequences and for which D&I could be influential. Japan's society is super-aged, with individuals aged 65 and over accounting for 28.4% of the total population (Cabinet Office, 2020a). Japan's average life expectancy has continued to increase (81.25 years for men and 87.32 years for women). Consequently, the percentage of people aged 65 and over has also been increasing and is among the highest in the world. It was 28.4% in 2019 and is expected to reach 33.3% in 2036 and 38.4% in 2065. Responding to the aging population in medical care and welfare has become an urgent issue. Moreover, the birthrate is declining, with the number of births in 2019 falling to 865,234. The declining birthrate is forcing companies and organizations to deal with the problem of securing a workforce (Cabinet Office, 2020b).

Diversity and inclusion are seen as solutions to these issues. For instance, Japan has a universal health insurance system; however, medical costs tend to be higher for the elderly. In Japan's super-aged society, this expenditure on medical care has become a major problem, and the health and social inclusion of the elderly is becoming increasingly important. In addition, most Japanese companies and organizations have a mandatory retirement system, and many Japanese employees retire at the age of 60 and receive a pension. However, it has become increasingly difficult to maintain the pension system as people's life expectancy has increased since the system was established. To remedy the situation, the retirement age was increased to 65 years in 2025. As such, it is desirable for companies and organizations to employ the elderly and for communities to include the elderly as members.

Moreover, the declining working population is a major issue in Japan. Most Japanese companies and organizations face a problem in securing a young workforce. Therefore, the Japanese government and organizations take initiatives to increase the participation of women in the workforce, such as efforts to create an environment conducive for women to return to work after marriage or childbirth and guarantee work–life balance. Furthermore, an increasing number of companies and organizations are trying to secure a workforce by accepting overseas workers.

The world population is aging rapidly. It is estimated that the world population will reach 10.1 billion by 2060, with people aged 65 and over increasing to 17.8% by 2060. Therefore, Japan’s D&I initiatives and research in the Japanese context have policy implications for other countries facing aging populations.

This book is the first attempt to focus on D&I in Japan and gather studies on the topic, including policies, efforts, opportunities, and challenges. This book is developed in collaboration with two research centers: the Center for Inclusive Leadership at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, and the Diversity Center for Inclusive Leadership at Tsuda University. Grounded in research and outlining best practices, the book offers analyses of critical issues surrounding D&I in Japan at the individual, organization, industry, and national levels. In addition, it provides a longitudinal analysis of the evolution and performance outcomes of D&I policies among Japanese corporations across industries and a rich analysis of different underrepresented groups in Japan, such as immigrants, women, and people with disabilities.

Japan is known as a homogenous society, and concerns have been raised regarding whether Japan can truly become diverse and inclusive. This book offers insights into D&I in Japan and invites more debate and interest in D&I-related research and practice. As authors in this book demonstrate, D&I practice and advances have wide-ranging implications for policy making, business performance, and well-being of diverse groups of people living in Japan. Moreover, the current situation of D&I in Japan is informative for individuals considering future business or career opportunities as well as foreign government administrators charged with advancing D&I. The contributors of this book present diverse perspectives from different disciplinary backgrounds, including management, economics, anthropology, sociology, and education. As such, this book provides a holistic understanding of D&I issues in Japan that can assist theory building and policymaking.

Contents

This book consists of two parts and 11 chapters, including the Introduction and a commentary note. Part I includes five chapters that examine issues related to D&I in Japan’s business sector. The contributors address D&I from a business and management perspective at different levels of analysis. Part II includes four chapters discussing the issues surrounding D&I in Japan’s higher education. In addition, Part II introduces the cases of two universities—Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific

University and Tsuda University—highlighting the role of higher education in promoting D&I in Japan. Part II concludes the book with a commentary note from Haruaki Deguchi, president of Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, and a prominent figure in business, who actively advocates for D&I in Japan and has published more than 40 books on the history, culture, society, and management in Japan.

Part I. Understanding and promoting diversity and inclusion in business

As the importance of diversity and inclusion grows year by year, Japanese companies have begun to implement various initiatives. Against the backdrop of the expected labor shortage and gender gap in the workforce, diversity has been promoted in terms of women employment in Japan. As claimed by Ando (2020), diversity management in the country has mainly focused on increasing women participation and providing support for the success of women in the workplace.

The major change in the policies of Japanese companies regarding diversity and inclusion occurred around 2013, when the government issued the Japan Revitalization Strategy. In this strategy, the Japanese government proposed the importance to promote diverse workplace for women and to increase employment opportunities for the elderly. The revised strategy has included policies to allow female, elderly, and foreign workers, and people with disabilities to play active roles in the workplace (Hayashi, 2017). Furthermore, the government released its Womenomics agenda that proposed objectives and plans targeting the increase of women participation in the workforce and women representation in leadership positions. In other words, the Japanese labor market, which used to be dominated by men, is now looking for a more diverse workforce. As a result, Japanese companies are striving to create a better working environment for women, hire foreign employees to acquire and utilize their knowledge and skills, and create a work environment where people with disabilities can also play an active role.

Stakeholder's pressures are also driving companies to promote diversity and inclusion. For example, Japanese companies have emphasized the importance of building long-term cooperative relationships with their employees and have started to make their working styles more employee-friendly by introducing measures for work–life balance. In addition, investors start to consider diversity and inclusion as an important aspect to evaluate Japanese corporations. They have checked whether a company is making sufficient efforts regarding diversity, and some companies are restructuring their boards of directors.

These social trends in diversity and inclusion have led to an increase in strategic importance for companies. The results of a survey conducted by Nippon Keidanren (Japan Business Federation) in 2020 on “Promoting Diversity and Inclusion in the Post-Corona Era” show what Japanese companies expect to D&I initiatives for their corporate performance (Keidanren, 2020). Specifically, more than two-thirds of the respondents thought that promoting D&I would have a positive impact on their business. For example, they expect some outcomes to D&I such as “retention and acquisition of excellent human resources,”

“product innovation,” “sensitivity to changes in the business environment and ability to respond to crises,” and “development of new business models.” These results suggest that Japanese companies promote D&I not only as an enactment of social responsibility, but also as a means to strengthen their competitive advantage.

Nonetheless, the results also suggested some challenges in promoting D&I such as “it takes too much time to see results in management” and “it is difficult to spread the importance of D&I promotion among management and employees.” They also suggested the difficulty of measuring D&I performance. Therefore, in order to overcome these challenges and leverage the benefits of D&I, Japanese companies need to integrate D&I into their corporate culture and business models.

Given the introduction of and changes in government policies to promote D&I in Japan, Part I begins with Chapter 2, “The transition of D&I policy and corporate behavior in Japan,” by Yoshiki Shinohara and Lailani Alcantara, with a discussion on how D&I public policies influence corporate behavior in Japan. Building on stakeholder salience theory and institutional theory, the authors in this study argued that corporate behavior is largely affected by the laws and policies surrounding them; therefore, public policies play a crucial role in advancing D&I among Japanese companies. They tracked D&I-related policies from 2003 to 2018 by collecting public policy data from white papers in Japan and cross-examined them with D&I initiatives by Japanese companies based on corporate social responsibility data collected by Toyo Keizai from more than 1,500 companies between 2006 and 2020. This study highlighted the crucial role of public policies in driving corporate behavior and advancing D&I.

Chapter 3, “Diversity and inclusion orientations in Japanese companies: Does industry make a difference?” by Lailani Alcantara and Yoshiki Shinohara, addresses whether and how D&I orientations differ across industries in Japan and elucidates the issues and challenges of human resource management in Japan. Using data on multiple industries in the manufacturing and service sectors between 2016 and 2020, Chapter 3 tests the proposition that D&I orientations differ across industries and examines the trends and practices associated with D&I in Japan. The study found support for the hypothesis, contributing to the understanding of the importance of addressing D&I issues at the industry level and the role of industry-specific efforts and policies in promoting D&I.

Chapter 4, “The influence of workforce diversity on the financial performance of Japanese companies,” by Yoshiki Shinohara, Lailani Alcantara, and Toshitsugu Otake, addresses whether diversity in the workforce improves organizational performance, which is a question that has long been debated. Diversity was measured in terms of gender, age, nationality, and disability, and the relationship between each diversity measure and profitability was examined. Using panel data of 2,081 Japanese companies, the authors found a significant positive correlation between profitability and age diversity, while other measures were found to be insignificant. The authors concluded that in order to leverage the benefits of diversity, Japanese companies must move beyond representation and strive to foster inclusion in the workplace.

Chapter 5, “Conforming while being distinct: The impact of social identity on perceived inclusion and business opportunity identification of Vietnamese entrepreneurs in Japan,” by Thi Huong Tang and Lailani L. Alcantara, illustrates how immigrant entrepreneurs could add to the diversity of entrepreneurship in Japan. In this study, the authors explored the opportunity identification process and the role of social identity through the lived experiences of Vietnamese entrepreneurs in Japan. Using in-depth interviews, they revealed that the degree to which Vietnamese entrepreneurs identify with Vietnamese and Japanese culture varies, and that such variation influenced their opportunity identification process. For instance, people with multicultural experience and global connections formulated strategies beyond the scope of Vietnam and Japan. In addition, the authors found that Vietnamese entrepreneurs who felt included in Japanese society were deeply aware of their distinctiveness as Vietnamese people and continuously reconstructed their social identities as they interacted with their environment and people from Vietnamese and Japanese communities.

Chapter 6, “Diversity, inclusion and disability in Japan,” by Nagase Osamu, discusses the origins and development of reasonable accommodation, with reference to Japanese policies and laws as well as specific litigation cases. Osamu in his study traced the origin of reasonable accommodation to the American Civil Code of 1964 and outlined that denial of reasonable accommodation is discrimination based on disability according to the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities adopted by the UN in 2006. In addition, he also summarized Japanese policies and laws related to reasonable accommodation, including the Act for Eliminating Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities. Chapter 6 presents cases addressing rational consideration and discrimination that people with disabilities suffer from. Furthermore, this chapter provides implications for businesses and policymakers committed to fostering the inclusion of people with disabilities, suggesting ways to provide reasonable accommodation.

Part II: Issues and cases of diversity and inclusion in higher education

To advance diversity and inclusion in Japan, it is crucial to understand the issues related to diversity and inclusion in higher education and the role of higher education institutions in addressing the challenges of diversity and inclusion in business and society. Just like in business, gender gap also exists in higher education in Japan. While the gap in the enrollment rate to universities and junior colleges between women and men has narrowed down over the years in Japan (58.6% and 58.7% in 2020 compared to 41.3% and 33.3% in 1980, respectively) and women now account for nearly half of the overall university population, a closer look at the demographics reveals important challenges. Based on the reports of the Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, women account for more than half the university population in humanities (65%) and nursing (91.3%) only. The largest gender gap exists in science and engineering—women account for 27.8% in science and 15.7% in engineering. Women participation in science is the lowest among OECD countries and the ratio of women researchers is 17.5% only,

compared to 38.6% and 33.9% in the United Kingdom and the United States, respectively.

Moreover, women enrollment in top universities is significantly lower compared to men. Only about 20% of the student population in the University of Tokyo, which is the oldest and most elite university in Japan, have been women for nearly two decades; and just over one-quarter are women among seven publicly funded national institutions (Rich, 2019). As reported by OECD, teachers at tertiary education are also dominated by men (72%) in Japan. Such a deep-seated gender gap in higher education contributes to the lower women participation in the workforce and women representation in leadership in the country.

People with disabilities are also underrepresented in higher education. They are also often marginalized, having less access to learning opportunities and facing various forms of discrimination on campus, globally. In Japan, the Act on the Elimination of Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities was introduced in 2016, requiring national and public institutions to provide reasonable accommodation while mandating private institutions to proactively accommodate the needs of students with disabilities. According to the national survey conducted by the Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO), the number of institutions with implementation guidelines that support students with disabilities has increased from 15% in 2012 to 54.2% in 2018. Nonetheless, the proportion of students with disabilities in higher education institutions stands at 1.05% in 2018, which is lower than the 19% reported proportion of students with disabilities in 2015–16 by the US Department of Education.

While the participation of students with disabilities has remained low over the years, the participation of international students in higher education has improved. The proportion of international students has increased from 3% in 2014 to 5% in 2018, which is comparable to the 5.5% proportion in the United States in the same year. Amidst the decreasing and aging population, Japanese higher education has aimed at attracting international students. Such a move has received support from the government. To enhance the international competitiveness of higher education in Japan, the government has provided funds to selected universities under the Global 30 scheme in 2009 and the Top Global University Initiatives in 2014 (Shimauchi and Kim, 2020). The increase is evident when undergraduate and master's programs are compared. While international students account for the 3% of the student population in undergraduate programs, they account for the 19.9% in master's programs in 2018, which is higher than the 15% ratio in 2012. However, the coronavirus pandemic has caused a serious threat to the Japanese higher education system. The Japanese government has implemented foreign entry restrictions, blocking the entry of around 150,000 students and losing Japan's position as the main destination for study and research in East Asia to South Korea (Reuters, 2022).

Several challenges remain and opportunities exist around diversity and inclusion within higher education in Japan. The Japanese government and higher education institutions need to embed diversity and inclusion thoughtfully and strategically in existing or new programs. Their proactive approach and leadership in

advancing diversity and inclusion will contribute to reducing the gender gap and enhancing diversity and inclusion in business and society. The Part II of this book aims to address pressing diversity and inclusion challenges in higher education and offers cases that demonstrate how diversity and inclusion can be integrated into higher education institutions.

Chapter 7, “Inclusive policymaking through the development of an open access database for research and education,” by Yukiko Ito and Mie Morikawa, opens the discussion for Part II regarding ethics, tools, and practices for D&I. The authors raise the issue of the lack of a common platform to access governmental white papers and council documents, which are open to the public but located at segmented sites of Japanese ministries and are difficult to navigate. They argue that such poor accessibility to public data hindered understanding and citizen participation in policymaking. As a solution, they have developed and released the Database for White Papers and Council Documents, that is, Database for Empowerment, which provides data in a visualized format with ready-to-use tools for data-driven policy. Through experiments and interviews with students, scholars, and workers, the authors have developed a four-step education program using the database for inclusive policymaking: (1) checking for inclusion of relevant information, (2) practicing skills of data handling, (3) discussing issues to solve, and (4) proposing inclusive policy outcomes.

In Chapter 8, “Reasonable accommodation and information accessibility for students with disabilities in Japanese higher education,” Yoshimi Matsuzaki and Kuniomi Shibata continue the discussion on reasonable accommodation, supporting students with disabilities in Japanese universities. They explain information accessibility and how information transmission affects the understanding of reading acquisition for people with visual and hearing disabilities given the characteristics of the Japanese language. As a part of the Reading Accessibility of Reasonable Accommodations (RARA) project, they conducted studies to compare the quality of understanding through two forms of transmission: Braille and sign language. Their studies showed that Braille users tended to have trouble reading text with many cognitive academic language proficiencies (CALPs) and that abstract contents created difficulties for people with visual and hearing disabilities. They concluded that content and information accessibility, that is, methods of communicating information, should be considered to promote understanding and learning for people with visual and/or hearing disabilities.

Chapters 9 and 10 introduce the cases of two private institutions of higher education in Japan: Tsuda University, which is one of Japan’s oldest and most prestigious private universities for women, and Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (APU), a leading international university and the only university in Japan that provides a bilingual education system in Japanese and English. In Chapter 9, “Promoting diversity and inclusion in higher education: Insights from the Japanese women leaders of Tsuda College,” Yuko Takahashi shares the story of Taki Fujita, a former president of Tsuda University and Director of the Women’s and Minor’s Bureau of the Ministry of Labor in 1951–1955. Taki Fujita

had a significant impact on succeeding women leaders of Tsuda University and the university's commitment to women's leadership and inclusion.

In Chapter 10, "Promoting diversity and inclusion in higher education: The case of Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University," Toshitsugu Otake describes the uniqueness of APU and its continued efforts and challenges to promote D&I. To achieve a diverse campus, APU currently upholds three 50s: a 50:50 ratio of international to domestic students, a 50:50 ratio of foreign to Japanese faculty, and admittance of students from a minimum of 50 countries and regions. Such endeavors created a unique environment for nurturing the next generation of leaders who value D&I. The author concluded with a call for further internationalization of Japanese universities and APU's aim of increasing the participation of women and international faculty members in leadership positions.

The book concludes, Chapter 11, with a commentary note from Haruaki Deguchi, "Diversity and Inclusion: Historical Perspectives on its Significance and Necessity." The author explained why D&I were of paramount importance to the betterment and advancement of Japanese society. He argues that Japan's economic downturn and inability to produce unicorn firms were rooted in gender discrimination, lack of diversity, and poor higher education. As Japan had over 120 years of nurturing gender discrimination, Deguchi claimed that it will be difficult to overcome, albeit, its eradication is the first step toward D&I and appreciation of different forms of diversity, such as LGBTQ and foreign residents in the country. He concluded that D&I reflect the true nature of human society and are the key to creating a livable society for everyone.

Each chapter in this book illuminates the understanding of D&I and its practice in the business and higher education sectors in Japan. As a whole, this collection provides a holistic and multifaceted picture of D&I in Japan. We welcome more research efforts to deepen the understanding of D&I and provide implications for promoting D&I in Japan and globally.

Acknowledgment

This research was supported by grants from the Private University Research Branding Project (Type B: Global Development Category) of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology and the Center for Inclusive Leadership in Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (<https://en.apu.ac.jp/cil/>).

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Part I

**Understanding and promoting
diversity and inclusion in
business**



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2 The transition of diversity and inclusion policies and corporate behavior in Japan

Yoshiki Shinohara and Lailani L. Alcantara

Introduction

Research on corporate social responsibility (CSR) has been widespread since the 1970s, largely in Europe and the United States (Aguinis & Glavas, 2012; Carroll, 1979). In Japan, CSR emerged in 2003 (Fukukawa & Teramoto, 2009), with Japanese companies establishing specialized departments to carry out CSR initiatives. For instance, Toyota established the CSR Study Working Group in January 2004 and the CSR and Environmental Affairs Division in January 2007 to contribute toward creating a sustainable society.

Currently, a lot of Japanese listed companies publish initiatives in CSR and sustainability reports. According to the 2020 KPMG survey, Japan is a country with a high sustainability reporting rate (KPMG, 2020). With the establishment of the Corporate Governance Code in 2015, foreign institutional investors and society at large are increasingly demanding more from companies regarding corporate governance. The Japanese government developed the Japan Revitalization Strategy and mentioned the necessity of creating a women-friendly work environment to empower women in society (Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, 2013). These external pressures lead Japanese companies to become socially responsible.

As the importance of CSR is recognized in Japan, Japanese companies have begun considering diversity and inclusion (D&I) issues in business. Nikkeiren, the Japan Federation of Employers' Associations, established the Nikkeiren diversity work rules study group in 2000 (Taniguchi, 2008). They published reports on current D&I issues in Japan, such as gender inequality, and corresponding suggestions. The gender gap in Japan is larger than in other developed countries, with the global gender gap index ranking Japan 121st out of 153 countries (World Economic Forum, 2019). Some Japanese companies tried to fill this gender gap. Eweje and Sakaki (2015) conducted interviews with the CSR managers of 12 Japanese multinational enterprises (MNEs) and found greater focus on D&I than before, particularly the importance of diversity in corporate boards. In addition, most managers emphasized gender issues in the workplace, such as promotion and flexible work style. However, most approaches to fill the gender gap in Japan focus on top management, and ignore the middle and lower levels (Mun & Jung, 2018).

Japan faces other D&I issues. Japan's Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare encouraged companies and other organizations to hire people with physical, intellectual, or mental impairments as a certain portion of their workforce (*The Japan Times*, 2018). Some Japanese companies participate in workshops and training programs to learn how to interact with people with disabilities (*The Japan Times*, 2016).

Foreign workers are another emerging issue in Japan. The number of foreign workers in Japan increased, with nearly 1.66 million foreigners coming to Japan to work in 2019 as companies increasingly hired them to deal with a labour shortage caused by the nation's rapidly aging population (Kyodo News, 2020b). Japanese companies began dealing with issues related to racial harassment (Kyodo News, 2020a). These examples demonstrate that diversity and inclusion issues are getting more attention in Japan, and Japanese companies have started to tackle them to create a sustainable society.

This chapter utilizes the stakeholder salience theory (Mitchell, Agle, & Wood, 1997; Wood, Mitchell, Agle, & Bryan, 2021) and the institutional theory (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977) to examine how governmental public policies encourage corporate D&I initiatives in Japan. In the Japanese context, employee and worker unions are seen as the most salient stakeholders (Abegglen, 1958; Ahmadjian & Robinson, 2001; Kato & Kodama, 2018). Employees have power, legitimacy, and urgency for their companies, as they are the source of competitive advantage as human resources, and there are expectations of lifetime employment from Japanese society (Ono, 2010). This employee-oriented context influences Japanese companies' D&I initiatives.

Furthermore, previous research suggests that CSR behavior is affected by the historical institutional framework of countries and homogenization pressures that companies face (Campbell, 2007; Eesley & Lenox, 2006; Frooman, 1999; Matten & Moon, 2008). D&I initiatives are considered a part of CSR activities; therefore, institutional norms should be another cause for promoting companies' D&I initiatives.

This study contributed to the D&I literature by proposing rich evidence of the relationship between government policies and D&I initiatives conducted by Japanese companies. Currently, research on D&I in the Japanese context is lacking. D&I is currently considered an important issue, as Japanese companies face the problem of a shrinking workforce due to the declining birthrate and aging population. However, most Japanese studies focus on gender diversity (Kato & Kodama, 2018; Mun & Jung, 2018; Peillex et al., 2021), avoiding other D&I issues (with the exception of Magoshi & Chang, 2009). Therefore, this study focused on all D&I aspects and examined the D&I initiatives of Japanese companies over the past 20 years.

This chapter is structured as follows. First, it provides an overview of the influence of stakeholder and institutional pressure on corporate D&I initiatives. Second, it presents CSR data collected from Toyo Keizai and discusses changes in corporate CSR policies and content. Finally, it proposes the theoretical and practical implications.

Stakeholder salience, institutional theory, and D&I public policy in Japan

This section examines how D&I public policies affect corporate behavior using the stakeholder salience and institutional theories. These two theories have been applied to explain corporate responses to both internal and external pressures (Campbell, 2007; Eesley & Lenox, 2006; Matten & Moon, 2008).

Stakeholder salience theory

According to the stakeholder salience theory, companies are embedded in relationships with various stakeholders and are dependent on each other (Freeman et al., 2010; Rowley, 1997). Therefore, stakeholders affect corporate behavior to be socially responsible. The stakeholder salience theory provides a theoretical foundation to explain why companies respond to stakeholders' interests (Mitchell et al., 1997). Salience is defined as the degree to which managers prioritize competing stakeholder interests (Eesley & Lenox, 2006). According to their framework, when stakeholders have power, legitimacy, and urgency, they become salient and corporate managers focus on their interests, with companies positively responding to specific requests of stakeholders with high salience (Eesley & Lenox, 2006).

There is some evidence to support this argument. Agle et al. (1999) conducted a survey of US companies and found that the cumulative number of stakeholder attributes of power, legitimacy, and urgency was positively correlated with stakeholder salience of shareholders, employees, customers, government, and communities. Some case studies have validated this theory (Magness, 2008; Parent & Deephouse, 2007). These results showed that power, legitimacy, and urgency are related to managers' perceptions of stakeholder interests.

When stakeholders become salient to managers, managers respond to their requests. Eesley and Lenox (2006) analyzed corporate responses to secondary stakeholders and found that companies responded to their requests when they had power and legitimacy. Henriques and Sadorsky (1999) found that managers' perceptions of environmental stakeholders were moderated by the corporation's approach to the natural environment. These findings suggest that stakeholder salience can affect corporate behavior through managerial perceptions.

In Japan, employees are considered the most important stakeholders in the firm (Kato & Kodama, 2018). Traditionally, the structure and system of Japanese organizations was rooted in the construct of "*ie*" (Bhappu, 2000), which has meanings of a physical home and family lineage. Japanese companies applied this concept to manage employees. For instance, the relationship between employers and employees is considered to be similar to parents and children, with both parties working not only for individual interests but also for long-term company development. When the company develops and the business succeeds, they enjoy mutual benefits, such as high salaries and welfare services (Mito, 1991).

The *ie* concept has two characteristics. First, employees are family members in their company, and Japanese employers hesitate to fire them even when their

performance is poor. A Japanese survey suggested that 74.4% of Japanese companies are in favor of maintaining a lifetime employment system (Okamoto et al., 2013). Keidanren, the Japanese Business Federation, required member corporations to be socially responsible by creating new added value and generating employment (Keidanren, 2017). However, this was required only for full-time employees, and part-time employees were fired more often than full-time employees. Mito (1991) asserted that other characteristics of *ie* create a boundary between people inside and outside the group. Wokutch and Shepard (1999) explained that there is a Confucian sense of distinction between inside and outside. Being a member of a group is seen as important in Japan, which is characterized in terms of responsibility.

As such, employees are considered important stakeholders for companies; however, this includes only full-time employees. Therefore, “employee” in this chapter refers to full-time employees.

When employees expect companies to promote D&I initiatives, they are motivated to fulfill company demands. Most corporate D&I initiatives are related to employees, and companies respond to employee requests by promoting gender equity, maintaining work–life balance, and providing special support for under representatives.

Institutional theory

Institutional theorists argue that corporate behavior is influenced by the institutional environment. This institutional environment is called the organizational field, which is defined as the field that constitutes the area perceived as an institutional activity (Dimaggio & Powell, 1983). This organizational field arises when an issue becomes important to the interests and goals of a particular organizational group (Hoffman, 1999) and companies receive isomorphic pressures to maintain legitimacy (Dimaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Legitimacy is defined as “a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed systems of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions” (Suchman, 1995, p. 574). If companies fail to maintain legitimacy, their existence is considered inappropriate within the organizational field and this survival is in danger. Therefore, they follow the norms for survival, resulting in isomorphic corporate behavior (Dimaggio & Powell, 1983).

This isomorphic pressure motivates firms to meet organizational norms (Bansal & Roth, 2000; Deegan, 2002; Laufer, 2003; Reverte, 2009). For instance, Ahmadjian & Robinson (2001) examined how institutional pressures in Japan affect Japanese permanent employment practices. Their research suggested that the social and institutional pressure to keep this practice prevented Japanese company’s downsizing in the 1990s, but after more firms downsized, this pressure diminished. Reverte (2009) also explained how institutional pressures for social and environmental reporting influenced companies. He found

that environmentally conscious industries in Spain, such as mining, oil, and gas, tended to meet international standards in social reporting more than other industries due to increased isomorphic pressures for corporate social and environmental reporting.

Moreover, research indicates that public policies and laws create institutional pressures that change corporate behaviors (Doshi et al., 2013; Luo et al., 2017; Wang et al., 2018). Such isomorphic pressures are likely to occur when governments propose new laws and policies related to D&I. If a company adopts a D&I initiative, other companies in the industry may follow this initiative to avoid becoming a target for regulation (Reid & Toffel, 2009).

Materials and methods

This chapter aims to explain how governmental public policies encourage corporate D&I initiatives in Japan. Therefore, this study collected data on governmental public policies from white papers in Japan, including those on Health, Labour and Welfare, Gender Equality, and Disabled Persons between 2006 and 2020, in order to identify the governmental public policies related to D&I. This study identified 56 public policies, laws, and other relevant documents. In addition, this study examined the content and classified it into four criteria: gender, aging people, future generations, under representation, and foreign workers. Table 2.1 summarizes these public policies, laws, and other documents between 2003 and 2018.

To identify corporate response to public policies, this study collected data from the Toyo Keizai CSR between 2006 and 2020. The Toyo Keizai CSR survey has been conducted every year since 2005, including all listed and major unlisted companies in Japan. The sample size in 2006 was 749, and it increased to 1,593 companies from 33 industries in 2020. Data related to D&I initiatives were selected, producing 25 results. Some data were unavailable in 2006, such as data on employment until the age of 65 for applicants, which were collected from 2014. The average of the following ratio data was calculated for each year: ratio of women in management positions, ratio of women on boards, ratio of paid leave, percentage of employees taking childcare leave, percentage of employees returning to work after childcare leave, ratio of foreign employees, ratio of foreign employees in management positions, and ratio of foreign employees on boards. For other data, such as presence of a dedicated department for the purpose of utilizing and promoting the skills of a diverse workforce, the number of companies that have D&I related departments, systems, policies, and initiatives were calculated for each year. The percentage of companies that adopted these practices among companies in the focal year was also calculated. The data are listed in Table 2.2.

This study analyzed corporate responses to public policies, focusing on changes in the percentage of each D&I corporate initiative. The study assumed that if D&I public policies affected corporate behavior, then the percentage of each D&I corporate initiative should gradually increase.

Table 2.1 List of D&I public policies in Japan

<i>Year</i>	<i>Gender equality</i>	<i>Aging population</i>	<i>Disabilities</i>	<i>Foreign workers</i>
2003		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basic Act for Measures to Cope with Society with Declining Birthrate 		
2004		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A childcare support plan • Low birthrate social measure outline endorsed by the Cabinet • Revision of Act on Stabilization of Employment of Elderly Persons 		
2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Second Basic Plan for Gender Equality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Act on Advancement of Measures to Support Raising Next-Generation Children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Services and Supports for Persons with Disabilities Act 	
2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Second Basic Plan for Gender Equality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work–Life Balance Promotion Council for Male Childcare Participation 		
2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revised Equal Employment Opportunity Law • Health, Labour and Welfare Minister Excellence Award in the Family-friendly Company Section of the Equal Employment and Balance Promotion Company Award (2007–2018) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Charter for Work–Life Balance • Action Policy for Promoting Work–Life Balance 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revised Employment Measures Act • Guidelines for employers to properly deal with improvement of employment management, etc. for foreign workers

(Continued)

Table 2.1 Continued

<i>Year</i>	<i>Gender equality</i>	<i>Aging population</i>	<i>Disabilities</i>	<i>Foreign workers</i>
2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revision of the Part-Time Employment Act 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kurumin Certification System • Revision of the Act on Advancement of Measures to Support Raising Next-Generation Children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revision of the Disabled Job Development Act 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acceptance of a foreign nurse and a nursing care worker candidate from Indonesia based on economic partnership agreements. • Implementation of a project for promoting highly skilled foreign professionals in companies (2008–2009)
2009			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Headquarters for the Promotion of Systemic Reform for Persons with Disabilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acceptance of a foreign nurse and a nursing care worker candidate from the Philippines based on economic partnership agreements
2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Third Basic Plan for Gender Equality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revision of the Child Care and the Family Care Leave Law 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revision of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act
2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nadeshiko Brand Initiative of Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ikumen Project • Act on Child and Childcare Support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Act on the Prevention of Abuse of Persons with Disabilities and Support for Caregivers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Points-based system for highly skilled foreign professionals

(Continued)

Table 2.1 Continued

<i>Year</i>	<i>Gender equality</i>	<i>Aging population</i>	<i>Disabilities</i>	<i>Foreign workers</i>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Diversity Management Selection 100andDiversity Management Selection 100 Prime 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partial Revision of Act on Stabilization of Employment of Elderly Persons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Act on the Improvement of Relevant Laws to Take New Measures for Health and Welfare of Persons with Disabilities to Achieve Harmonious Coexistence in Local Communities • Act on Promotion of Priority Procurement for Persons with Disabilities 	
2013		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acceleration Plan for Reducing Wait-Listed Children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revision of Act on Employment Promotion etc. of Persons with Disabilities (The Disabled Job Development Act) 	
2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Japan Revitalization Strategy 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ratify Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acceptance of a foreign nurse and a nursing care worker candidate from Vietnam based on economic partnership agreements
2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minister in Charge of Women's Empowerment • Fourth Basic Plan for Gender Equality 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basic Policy for Eliminating Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities 	

(Continued)

Table 2.1 Continued

Year	Gender equality	Aging population	Disabilities	Foreign workers
2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Act on Promotion of Women's Participation and Advancement in the Workplace 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Revision of Act on Stabilization of Employment of Elderly Persons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Act on the Comprehensive Support for the Daily and Social Life of Persons with Disabilities 	
2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Revision of Income Tax Act 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mandatory employment of people with mental disabilities 	

D&I public policies and corporate behavior in Japan

Japanese companies focused on D&I issues when Nikkei-ren, the Japan Federation of Employers' Associations, merged with Keidanren in 2002 and established the Nikkei-ren Diversity Work Rules Study Group in 2000 (Taniguchi, 2008). The Keizai Doyukai (Japan Association of Corporate Executives) proposed the importance of diversity in human resources and management strategies in 2004. The results of this study demonstrated that 13.07% of Japanese companies had specific departments to promote a diverse workforce in 2012, which increased to 29.69% in 2020 (Table 2.2).

This section discussed the relationship between D&I public policies and corporate behavior based on (a) gender equality, (b) population aging, (c) under representation, and (d) foreign employees.

D&I public policies for gender equality and corporate behavior

Japan is a country with a large gender gap. According to the World Economic Forum (2019), the global gender gap index ranked Japan 121st out of 153 countries. The number of employed women and men in Japan was 29.92 million and 37.33 million, respectively, in 2019. While the number of male employees aged 15–64 continued to decrease between 2008 and 2018, the number of female employees aged 15–64 increased since 2013 (Gender Equality Bureau, 2020). The proportion of nonregular female employees was 56.0% compared to 22.8% for men (Gender Equality Bureau, 2020). There were changes in women's attitudes toward having a job since 1992. The percentage of respondents who answered, "It is better to have a job again when the children have grown up" decreased, while the percentage of those who answered, "It is better to continue working even after having children" increased for both men (58.0%) and women (63.7%). This suggests that the opinions of Japanese people changed to favor continued work for women after marriage rather than becoming a housewife.

Table 2.2 Corporate D&I initiatives

(%)	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Whether or not there is a dedicated department for the purpose of utilizing and promoting the skills of a diverse workforce	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	13.07	14.36	16.69	19.08	23.55	27.13	29.51	29.98	29.69
Ratio of women in management positions	2.30	3.01	3.18	3.22	3.47	3.93	3.77	4.08	4.59	4.79	5.39	6.10	6.52	7.00	7.25
Ratio of women on boards	0.52	0.60	0.69	0.68	1.03	1.22	1.45	1.24	1.61	2.00	2.32	2.91	3.27	3.39	3.85
Whether or not there is a basic policy for LGBT	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	9.42	11.19	13.06	14.70	20.17	21.99	22.85
Some kind of LGBT initiative	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	6.61	7.51	11.02	15.41	21.87	25.05	27.06
Flexible hours system	50.87	49.06	46.65	48.25	48.01	49.12	50.49	50.71	46.12	42.45	42.49	41.48	43.24	43.50	43.63
Shorter working hours	61.01	63.34	64.18	68.27	71.56	73.94	77.08	79.17	72.73	67.20	67.09	66.26	67.37	67.36	66.10
Half-day paid leave system	72.23	73.86	72.95	76.85	79.35	82.33	84.51	84.75	76.69	70.88	69.58	69.11	69.43	67.82	66.23
Telecommuting system	5.21	6.42	6.97	7.84	8.79	9.63	11.55	13.03	13.22	12.95	15.40	18.25	22.93	28.11	32.64
Satellite office	4.81	5.20	4.34	4.80	4.71	5.39	5.46	6.56	6.53	6.90	7.40	8.10	10.76	14.86	18.96
Nursery equipment and benefits	8.68	9.97	12.25	15.04	15.40	16.17	18.89	19.77	19.50	19.16	19.92	20.95	24.84	25.18	25.74
Work sharing	1.47	1.33	1.41	1.48	2.63	2.39	3.04	3.37	3.97	3.91	4.00	3.91	4.03	4.06	3.89
Discretionary labour system	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	20.58	22.38	22.96	21.32	20.31	20.15	20.10	20.52	19.92	18.83
Shortened workday system	NA	NA	43.26	54.34	59.87	68.02	73.59	74.82	68.43	62.99	63.77	63.71	65.53	64.96	64.34
Flextime system	NA	NA	23.47	28.78	31.43	31.89	33.66	33.95	32.07	29.73	30.34	30.47	32.34	33.98	34.65
Earlier or later start and end times	NA	NA	24.98	31.64	35.05	39.22	41.54	42.64	39.83	37.16	37.21	36.72	38.78	38.97	39.42
System that does not require employees to work overtime	NA	NA	29.12	35.52	40.22	50.97	57.65	58.60	56.03	52.49	52.08	50.85	52.02	51.63	50.66

Operation of onsite childcare facilities	NA	NA	2.17	3.04	3.71	3.98	5.01	5.32	5.29	5.29	5.81	6.32	7.71	8.59	8.79
Subsidy system for childcare service expenses	NA	NA	14.33	17.53	18.21	19.52	21.58	22.16	22.48	21.76	21.96	21.80	24.49	24.98	24.92
Percentage of employees taking paid leave	NA	50.12	47.84	49.38	50.64	49.63	50.75	53.59	52.69	52.19	53.44	54.97	57.73	59.85	61.62
Percentage of employees taking childcare leave	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	68.90	41.31	43.21	47.27	47.25
Percentage of employees returning to work after childcare leave	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	96.66	95.97	96.49	94.83	96.44	95.84	96.46	96.13	97.04
Reemployment system for employees who left the company due to pregnancy, childbirth, childcare, nursing care, or transfer	NA	NA	16.78	20.66	23.82	24.73	28.38	29.43	28.51	27.20	28.38	29.33	32.34	33.98	34.40
Employment until age 65	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	51.65	56.86	60.91	59.45	61.22	59.96	58.51
Disability employment rate	NA	1.53	1.54	1.57	1.65	1.63	1.62	1.71	1.78	1.79	1.87	1.87	1.93	1.97	2.03
Ratio of foreign employees	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	4.60	5.32	6.95	7.22	7.99	8.47	9.79	9.94	10.12
Ratio of foreigners in management positions	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.31	0.23	0.27	0.24	0.26	0.37	0.38	0.42	0.49
Ratio of foreigners on boards	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	1.29	1.14	1.18	1.14	1.26	1.23	1.30	1.37	1.35
Sample size	749	903	1061	1084	1104	1132	1117	1128	1210	1305	1325	1408	1413	1501	1593

Note: Values are calculated by the authors.

The Basic Plan for Gender Equality was formulated in 2000 and has been reviewed every five years since then. It outlines measures to be taken comprehensively and over the long term to promote the formation of a gender-equal society, and a basic plan that stipulates matters necessary to promote the formation of a gender-equal society in a comprehensive and systematic manner. The Equal Employment Opportunity Law was established in 1985 and revised in 2007 to promote equal employment opportunities for men and women in Japan. The Part-Time Employment Act was revised in 2008. These two laws influence corporate D&I policies. In addition, Japanese ministries give awards for initiatives to promote D&I in Japanese companies. For instance, the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare implemented the family-friendly company section of the Equal Employment and Balance Promotion Company Award from 2007 to 2018 to encourage companies to employ and empower women. The Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) and the Tokyo Stock Exchange have jointly conducted the Nadeshiko Brand Initiative to select and publicize enterprises that encourage women's success in the workplace since 2012. The METI implemented Diversity Management Selection 100 and Diversity Management Selection 100 Prime in 2012, in which it selected enterprises committed to efforts to empower diverse human resources.

In 2014, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe proposed the Japan Revitalization Strategy and mentioned the importance of encouraging women to play an active role in the country. In the same year, the minister in charge of women's empowerment was established. The Act on the Promotion of Women's Participation and Advancement in the Workplace came into effect in 2016. This act obliged companies with 101 or more employees to implement activities such as analyzing their work environment and creating a more women-friendly work environment, setting quantitative targets, formulating an action plan for gender equity, and publishing their women's employment ratio and other measurements publicly.

In Japan, the spousal deduction system was established to reduce income tax for those who have a spouse with an annual income of 1.03 million yen or less, allowing them to deduct 380,000 yen from their income. However, it has been pointed out that this system encourages women to become housewives, work part-time at low wages, or work less (Suzuki, 2016). In 2018, the Income Tax Act was amended to change spousal deduction to promote women's employment.

These public policies encourage Japanese companies to empower women. This study demonstrated that the ratio of women in top and middle management gradually increased (Figure 2.1). The ratio of women in management positions increased from 2.3% in 2006 to 7.25% in 2020, while the ratio of women in top management grew from 0.52% in 2007 to 3.85% in 2020.

Although there are no formal statistics regarding LGBT in Japan, Dentsu Diversity Lab conducted an LGBT survey in 2018 and found that 8.9% of respondents, compared to 5.2% in 2012 and 7.6% in 2015, identified as LGBT (Dentsu, 2019). Public policies focusing on LGBT could not be identified; however, the Diversity Management Selection 100 and Diversity Management Selection 100 Prime were given to companies that promoted women empowerment and took initiatives for LGBT workers.

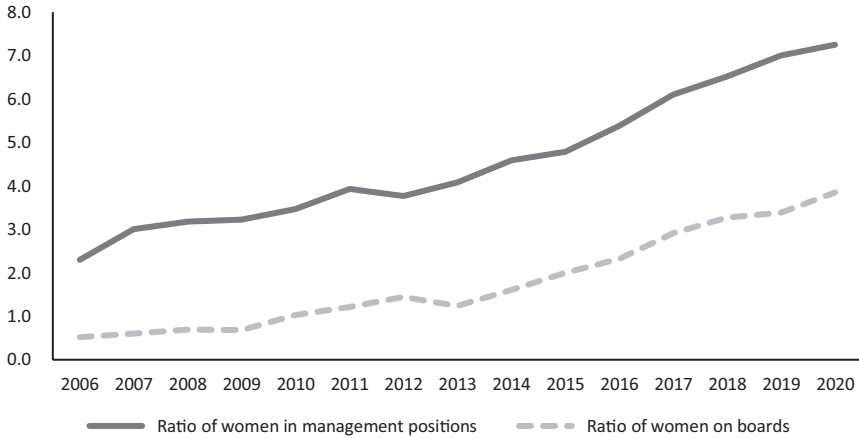


Figure 2.1 Ratio of women on boards and middle management

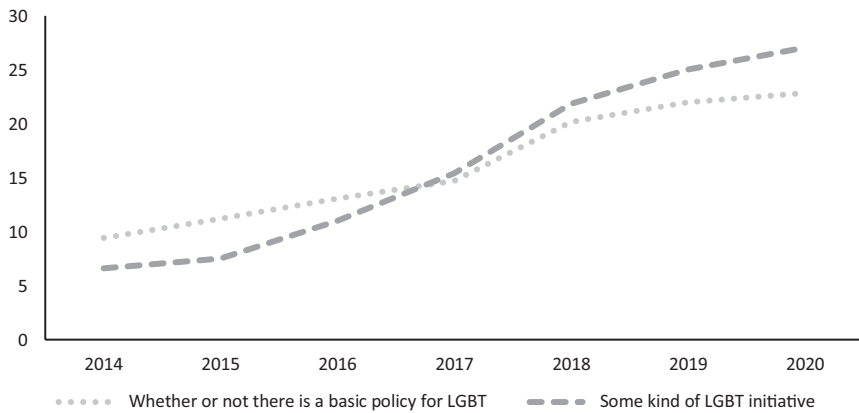


Figure 2.2 Ratio of policies and initiatives for LGBT

Unfortunately, corporate data on initiatives targeting LGBTs were only available from 2014; however, the figure shows that companies implemented basic policies for LGBT and took some initiatives (Figure 2.2). Overall, 9.42% of companies adopted basic LGBT policies in 2014, which increased to 22.85% in 2020. In addition, 27.06% of companies took initiatives for LGBTs in 2020 (Table 2.2). For instance, Goldman Sachs Japan established an LGBT Network to promote understanding of sexual minorities and provide employees with benefits for LGBT partners, similar to married couples (*The Japan Times*, 2017).

In sum, the Japanese government developed policies on gender equality and made efforts to promote gender equality in the work environment by establishing

various awards. These efforts may have facilitated the empowerment of female employees in Japanese companies. The ratio of women in management positions and on boards increased, albeit moderately, over the past 14 years. Despite the lack of LGBT policies and legislation, this study found that Japanese companies increasingly adopted LGBT policies and undertook LGBT initiatives.

D&I public policies for the aging population and corporate behavior

Japan faces the issue of an aging society. Over 20% of Japan's population is over 65 years old, which is the highest proportion in the world. By 2030, one in every three people will be 65 or older, and one in five people will be over 75 years old (*The Japan Times*, 2019). The median employee age for 1,792 listed companies in Japan was 41.4 years in 2020, which increased 0.1 years from the same period in 2019 (41.3 years). The average age has been increasing every year, rising by 1.6 years since 2011 (Tokyo Shoko Research, 2020). The increase in the average age of workers in Japanese companies reflects the social expectation that companies will hire elderly workers.

In addition, population aging is also related to the declining birthrate. Although the total fertility rate was gradually increasing from 2006, it has slightly decreased in recent years. The number of births in 2040 is estimated to be approximately 740,000, which is less than 90% of the level in 2019 and approximately 60% of the level in 1989 (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2020). A declining birthrate indicates increasing difficulties for companies to secure a future workforce.

The Japanese government considers population aging to be a significant issue in Japan, and several policies and laws have been established. The Basic Law on Measures to Cope with Society with Decreasing Birthrate was enacted in 2003 to clarify the basic principles of measures to be taken and comprehensively promote these measures. Based on this law, the Council on Measures for Society with Decreasing Birthrate was established by the Cabinet Office, chaired by the prime minister and composed of all Cabinet members. A childcare support plan was established in 2004 to identify specific measures and be implemented over a five-year period from 2005 to 2009. The Act on Stabilization of Employment of Elderly Persons was revised in 2004 to mandate companies to continue hiring elderly employees. In particular, this revised bill required employers to take one of the following measures to ensure employment of older people from April 2006: (1) raise the mandatory retirement age, (2) introduce a system of continuous employment, or (3) abolish the mandatory retirement age. This act was revised again in 2012. This amendment raised the retirement age to 65 years.

The Act on Advancement of Measures to Support Raising Next-Generation Children was established in 2005 to promptly and intensively promote measures for the development of the next generation. This act aimed to contribute to the formation of a society in which children, who will be responsible for the next generation of society, are born and nurtured in good health. This act was revised

in 2008 to encourage communities and companies to take initiatives for the next generation.

One of the causes of the rapid decline in birthrate is that women are forced to choose between pursuing careers and raising children. Therefore, the current system, which creates challenges for women to balance work and child-rearing, must be changed into a system that allows women to marry and give birth with peace of mind, and for both men and women to pursue careers while taking care of families. To address this issue, the Work–Life Balance Promotion Council for Male Childcare Participation was held in 2006, and recommendations were proposed to promote work–life balance. The Charter for Work–Life Balance and Action Policy for Promoting Work–Life Balance were established in 2007, and the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare promoted measures to achieve work–life balance as a society, such as curbing long working hours, promoting the use of annual paid leave, and supporting efforts to balance work and family life. In addition, the government launched the “Kurumin Certification” system under the Act on Advancement of Measures to Support Raising Next-Generation Children for companies working to support the balancing of work and child-rearing, which was certified by the Minister of Health, Labour and Welfare. Furthermore, the Child Care and Family Care Leave Law was revised and the “Ikumen” Project, which encouraged men to take childcare leave, was started in 2010.

The Act on Child and Childcare Support was enacted in 2012, which expanded early childhood education, childcare, and local child-rearing support. Japan’s daycare shortage has become a serious problem, as the number of wait-listed children continues to grow every year as more and more women are working. To deal with this problem, the government established the Acceleration Plan for Reducing Wait-Listed Children in 2013.

Japanese companies have various systems to promote work–life balance, including the flexible hours system, shorter working hours, half-day paid leave system, telecommuting system, satellite office, nursery equipment and benefits, work-sharing, and discretionary labour systems (Figure 2.3). Shorter working hours and the half-day paid leave system were the most popular work–life balance initiatives adopted by Japanese companies. The percentage of these two initiatives adopted by companies increased since 2007, when the work–life balance charter was established. However, it decreased since its peak in 2013. The flexible hours system was adopted by about 50% of companies until approximately 2013; however, the percentage declined since then to approximately 40%. The discretionary labour system was adopted by approximately 20% of Japanese companies, and this percentage has been stable since 2011. The number of companies adopting nursery equipment and benefits, telecommuting systems, and satellite offices increased every year. Work sharing was the least adopted work–life balance initiative by Japanese companies.

There were six systems available to employees with children between the age of 3 and preschool age (Figure 2.4). The percentage of companies with a shortened workday system, flextime system, earlier or later start and end times, and a system that does not require employees to work overtime increased until 2013,

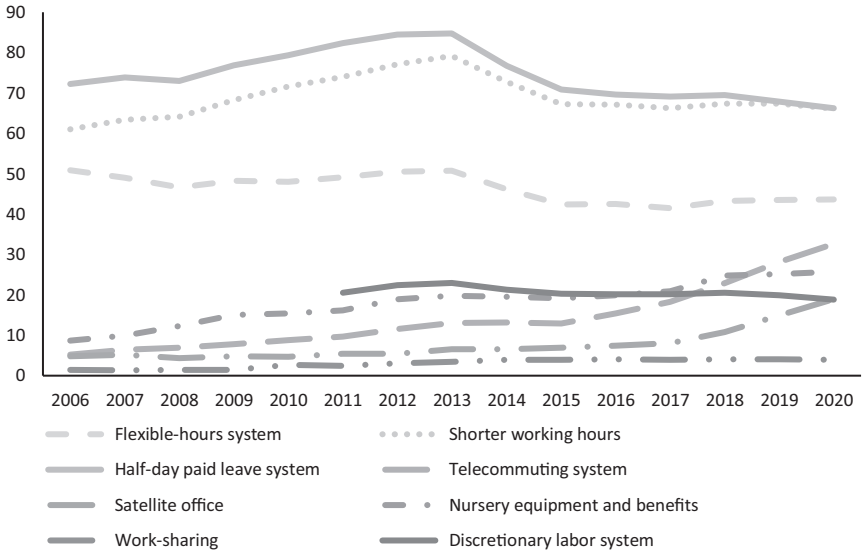


Figure 2.3 Support system for flexible work style in Japan

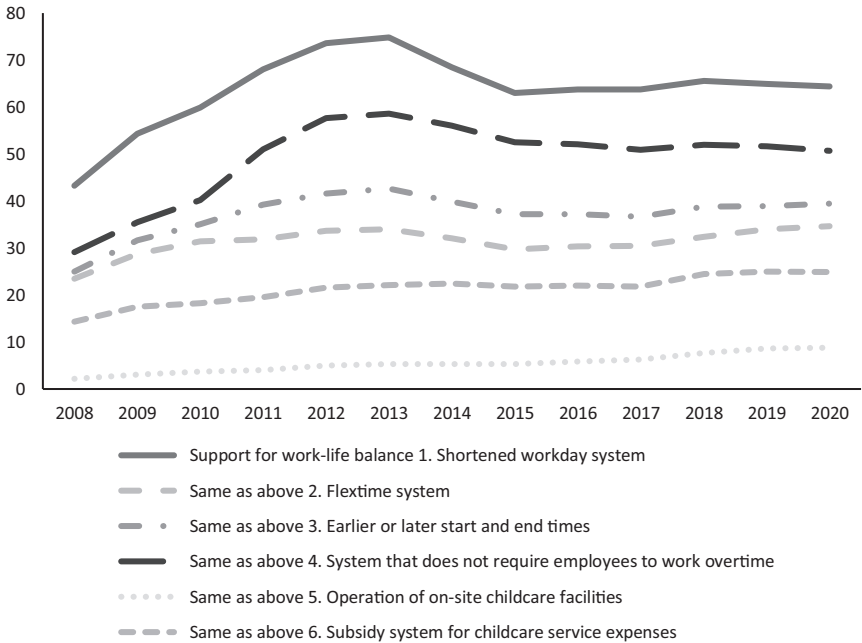


Figure 2.4 System available to employees with children between the ages of 3 and preschool age

after which it declined. However, the operation percentage of on-site childcare facilities and subsidy systems for childcare service expenses increased.

Based on these data, government policies related to work–life balance may increase the number of companies that introduce the shorter working hours and the half-day paid leave systems; however, they may not be directly related to other work–life balance initiatives, such as the flexible hours system, telecommuting system, satellite office, nursery equipment and benefits, work sharing, and discretionary labour system. Japanese companies gradually introduced systems available to employees with children between the age of 3 and preschool age.

Figure 2.5 shows that the ratio of employees who took paid leave increased from 50.12% in 2007 to 61.62% in 2020. This suggests that as the government increased policies to promote work–life balance, the rate of paid leave utilization gradually improved. In addition, the data demonstrated that the ratio of employees taking childcare leave increased since 2016, and most employees returned to work after childcare leave. The percentage of companies which introduced the reemployment system increased from 2008 to 2020.

For corporate initiatives for elderly employment, only six years' data were available; however, almost 60% of Japanese companies allowed employment until the age of 65 upon employees' request (Figure 2.5). This high rate was caused by the revision of the Act on Stabilization of Employment of Elderly Persons, which raised mandatory retirement age to 65 in 2012. For instance, Pola, a Japanese cosmetic company, had approximately 50,000 beauty directors who were independent business owners with contracts to sell their products at customers' homes. Of them, 5,500 were in their 70s, 2,500 were in their 80s, and 250 were in their 90s (*Financial Times*, 2016).

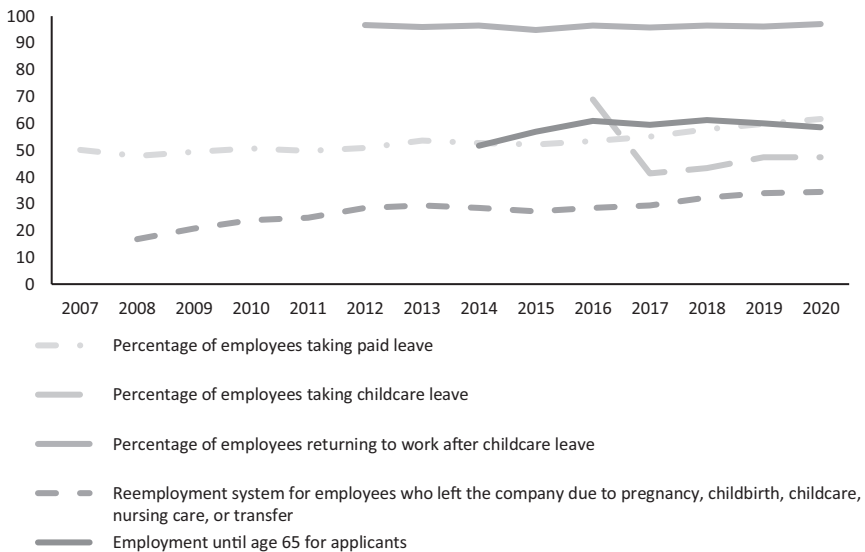


Figure 2.5 Ratio of D&I initiatives for employees

D&I public policies for under representation and corporate behavior

The number of people with disabilities in employment was 560,608 in 2019, which increased by 4.8% from the previous year, of which 354,134 employees had physical disabilities, 128,383 had intellectual disabilities, and 78,091 had mental disorders (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2020).

There were several public policies for underrepresented groups in Japan. The Services and Supports for Persons with Disabilities Act was established in 2005 to realize a community where persons with disabilities can live with peace of mind by systematically improving services, strengthening employment support, and promoting the transition to community life. The Disabled Job Development Act, which aimed to encourage companies to hire more people with disabilities, was revised in 2008. The Japanese Cabinet established the Headquarters for the Promotion of Institutional Reform for Persons with Disabilities to prepare for institutional reforms necessary to conclude the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in 2009. Three acts were enacted in 2012: the Act on the Prevention of Abuse of Persons with Disabilities and Support for Caregivers, the Act on the Improvement of Relevant Laws to Take New Measures for Health and Welfare of Persons with Disabilities to Achieve Harmonious Coexistence in Local Communities, and the Act on Promotion of Priority Procurement for Persons with Disabilities. These acts aimed to support the independence of people with disabilities, protect them from abuse, and promote the procurement of goods and services from employment facilities for people with disabilities by the government.

The Disabled Job Development Act was established in 2013, and the Japanese government ratified the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in 2014. Prior to this, companies were only obligated to hire physically challenged individuals; however, since 2018, companies have been required to hire people with various disabilities, including mental and physical disabilities.

However, despite these government policies to support underrepresented groups, Japanese companies have only slightly improved in this aspect. Figure 2.6

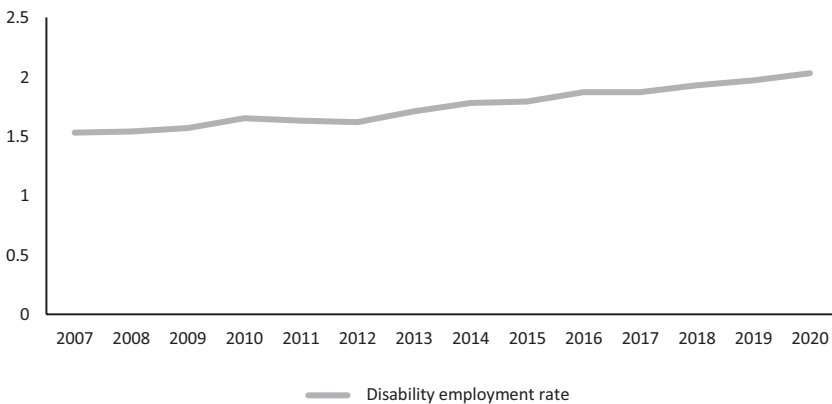


Figure 2.6 Ratio of disability employment

shows the change in the employment rate of people with disabilities, which was 1.53% in 2007 and 2.03% in 2020. The legally mandated employment rate for people with disabilities in Japan was scheduled to increase to 2.3% in 2021.

D&I public policies for foreign employees and corporate behavior

Foreign employees are seen as an important labour force to fill labour shortages. In addition, as Japanese companies operate not only in Japan but also overseas, many foreign employees work for subsidiaries of Japanese companies. The number of foreign employees in Japan increased since 2008 to approximately 1.66 million in 2019. According to the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, there were 418,327 Chinese (25.2%), 401,326 Vietnamese (24.2%), 179,685 Filipino (10.8%), and 135,455 Brazilian (8.2%) employees in 2019, who composed the majority of foreign employees in Japan. Of them, 20.4% worked in the manufacturing sector, 17.4% in the wholesale and retail sector, and 14.2% in the service sector.

In 2007, the Employment Measures Act was revised. For foreign nationals to be able to work properly within the scope of their status of residence while effectively demonstrating their abilities, basic rules regarding the employment of foreigners were established. All employers were obliged to submit a report on the employment status of foreign nationals to the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare. New guidelines were created in the same year to improve the management of foreign employees.

To deal with labour shortages in the healthcare industry, the Japanese government signed bilateral agreements with Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam to accept foreign nurses and care worker candidates in 2008, 2009, and 2014, respectively. In addition, the Japanese government created a practical manual for companies to promote the employment of foreign nationals with specialized technical skills and knowledge, and made it known to companies between 2008 and 2009. The activities of these talented foreign nationals were classified into three categories: academic research activities, highly specialized and technical activities, and management and administrative activities. Based on the characteristics of each category, a points-based system for highly skilled foreign professionals was introduced in 2012. Points were decided for each item, such as “academic background,” “work experience,” and “annual income,” and foreign nationals who achieved the target total points received preferential treatment in terms of immigration control.

However, malpractices, such as inappropriate training and unpaid wages, of some companies and organizations that accept trainees under the foreign training and technical internship system, were reported. Therefore, the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act was revised and enforced in 2010 to protect foreign trainees and technical intern trainees.

Figure 2.7 shows the ratio of foreign nationals employed by Japanese companies, including foreign subsidiaries. The ratio in 2012 was only 4.6%, but it more than doubled to 10.12% in 2020. This demonstrates the active employment of foreign nationals in Japanese companies overseas. However, as Figure 2.8 shows,

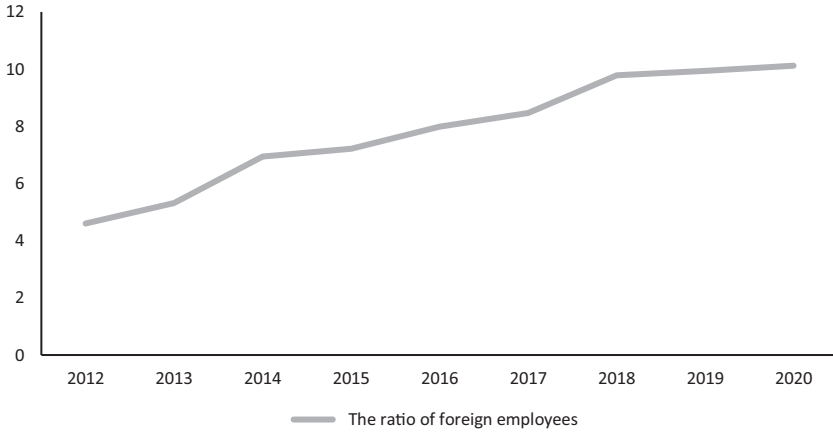


Figure 2.7 Ratio of foreign employees

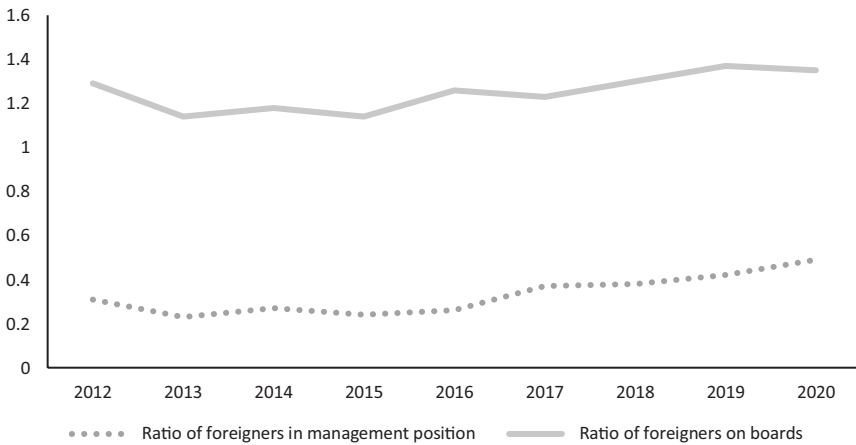


Figure 2.8 Ratio of foreigners in management and on boards

the ratio of foreigners in middle and top management was small with no increasing trend. Therefore, while the Japanese government’s policies had some effect on the employment of foreigners by Japanese companies, they had little impact on foreign nationals’ participation in the middle and top management levels.

Conclusion

This chapter applied the stakeholder salience theory and institutional theory to examine the influence of D&I public policies on corporate behavior in Japan. Employees in Japan are recognized as the most salient stakeholders; therefore,

D&I initiatives targeting employees are of paramount importance. In addition, government policies should create social norms for companies, and companies are likely to be encouraged to act in accordance with them.

A review of the temporal progress of D&I-related policies in Japan revealed that D&I-related policies changed corporate behavior, in particular the policies on gender equity and aging society issues. The Japanese government focused on increasing the participation of women in the workforce and improving childcare and work–life balance to combat the declining birthrate. The government’s attention expanded to other underrepresented groups, including people with disabilities and foreign workers, in 2007 and continued to grow since then. Nonetheless, policy efforts toward people with disabilities and foreign employees remained minimal. While this study identified 30 public policies on gender equality and an aging society, there were only 11 and 8 public policies targeting people with disabilities and foreign employees, respectively. As such, it is not surprising that Japanese companies took initiatives to resolve gender equality and aging society issues in the workplace.

Japanese companies promoted D&I initiatives related to gender by increasing women’s participation in leadership positions. While the ratio of women in leadership positions improved, it remained low and the progress was moderate. In addition, Japanese companies took proactive measures to combat the declining birthrate and aging population by promoting work–life balance initiatives after the government established the Charter for Work–Life Balance and Action Policy for Promoting Work–Life Balance in 2007. Several Japanese companies introduced a reemployment system for employees who left due to pregnancy, childcare, and other family reasons to deal with the decreasing workforce. Furthermore, Japanese companies extended retirement age to 65 years due to the revision of the Act on Stabilization of Employment of Elderly Persons.

However, the influence of D&I public policies on corporate initiatives for other underrepresented groups was weaker. Although public policies and laws targeting people with disabilities were formulated in 2005, the ratio of disabled employment in Japan remained below 2%. Therefore, many Japanese companies failed to meet the legal employment rate for people with disabilities. In addition, there are problems with the employment of foreign employees. While the employment rate of foreigners gradually increased, the percentage of foreigners in middle and top management positions remained stagnant. Furthermore, despite the lack of public policies targeting LGBT individuals, the percentage of companies that have initiated basic LGBT policies increased to approximately 20%. Moreover, D&I-related public policies targeting underrepresented groups mainly focused on recruitment.

These results have important theoretical and practical implications for the stakeholder salience theory and institutional theory. According to the stakeholder salience theory, employees are regarded as one of the stakeholders; however, the difficulty of lumping employees together in terms of corporate responses to public policy is apparent. Employees are inherently diverse in terms of gender, age, disability, and nationality. Therefore, when applying the stakeholder salience theory

to human resource management, it is crucial to expand the theory by considering the diverse characteristics of employees. From a public policy perspective, D&I must be understood as an overarching concept or process that accommodates and supports diversity in multiple dimensions and aspects. Public policies that address not only the recruitment but also retention and engagement of underrepresented groups could facilitate such a shift.

According to the institutional theory, public policies do not uniformly construct norms and encourage corporate behavior in society. Existing studies have pointed to issue salience as a factor that drives corporate behavior (Bundy et al., 2013). The declining birthrate and aging population are recognized as the most serious social problems in Japan; therefore, the relationship between public policies related to them and corporate behavior was evident in this study. However, there is much room for improvement. For instance, despite the government's strong focus on gender equality, the percentage of women in leadership increased, but only at a marginal rate. Assessing the effectiveness of public policies and understanding the challenges faced by Japanese companies is warranted to successfully promote D&I. This suggests the need to analyze not only the external factors of corporations but also the three axes of importance of social issues, public policy, and corporate behavior.

Acknowledgment

This research was supported by grants from the Private University Research Branding Project (Type B: Global Development Category) of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology and the Center for Inclusive Leadership in Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (<https://en.apu.ac.jp/cil/>).

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3 Diversity and inclusion orientation in Japanese companies

Does industry make a difference?

Lailani L. Alcantara and Yoshiki Shinohara

Introduction

Increasing diversity in markets and economies and intensifying expectations for corporate social responsibility have made the diversity of the workforce a business imperative. As such, diversity management has become an integral part of human resource management across industries, leading to an orientation that promotes diversity in the workforce and inclusion of people from underrepresented communities in multiple aspects from recruitment to leadership, that is, diversity and inclusion (D&I) orientation. Some countries and regions mandated their diversity, such as California state government, which signed a law requiring publicly held companies headquartered in the state to have at least one board member from underrepresented communities, with failure to comply resulting in penalties (Bell et al., 2020).

The same applies to Japanese companies. The shrinking population and aging society, coupled with the weakening of Japan's economy, prompted Japanese companies' increased attention to diversity. However, there are concerns regarding recruiting, retaining, and empowering a diverse workforce in Japanese companies (Aizawa, 2019). Several policies have been introduced to combat this issue and advance D&I (see Table 3.1), such as the Act on Employment Promotion of Persons with Disabilities, which mandates all private companies in all industries to employ people with disabilities as at least 2.0% of their total workforce (Nagano, 2015).

While policies and institutional pressures at the state or national levels targeting all industries are of paramount importance, examining and addressing D&I-related issues at the industry level could help further advance D&I. Previous studies have argued that the challenges confronting companies depend largely on the industry and have demonstrated that industries can facilitate the adoption and diffusion of standards and systemic change among companies (Jones et al., 2019). For instance, due to extreme pressure criticizing the labor and sourcing practices of companies in the apparel industry, several apparel companies have adopted the codes determined by the Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI), which aims to improve working conditions in the industry (Jain et al., 2017). Failure to address D&I at the industry level may limit our understanding of industry-specific concerns and

Table 3.1 ANOVA results

<i>D&I practices</i>	<i>Industry F-value</i>	<i>Time F-value</i>
Gender diversity	567.63**	24.23**
Age diversity	17.22**	11.05**
Foreign employment	5.51**	0.58
Disability employment	33.22**	2.87**
Women in management	66.11**	26.37**
Women on boards	28.24**	46.1**
Women empowerment	27.17**	13.91**
Diverse workforce empowerment	40.95**	21.73**
LGBT policy	32.94**	13.99**
Reemployment system	70.27**	13.88**
Employment until age 65	178.91**	13.17**

** denotes significance at 1% level

institutional dynamics, which could explain the adoption or nonadoption of D&I practices or policies, and constrain the capability to influence companies.

This chapter aims to develop an understanding of the importance of addressing D&I issues at the industry level, evaluate the hypothesis that D&I orientation differs across industries, and examine D&I trends and practices across industries. The chapter addresses the question whether and how D&I orientations differ across industries in Japan using data on multiple industries in the manufacturing and service sectors over the period 2016–2020.

This chapter elucidates the issues and challenges of human resource management in Japan by examining the trends and practices associated with diversity and inclusion. It sheds light on the role of industry-specific efforts and policies for promoting diversity and inclusion and reducing the gaps in the demographics of the workforce across industries. Moreover, the chapter outlines future directions for diversity management and inclusion initiatives in the Japanese context. The demographic developments or gaps that shape the Japanese workforce are likely to have parallel effects on the general population and economy and warrant attention.

Foundations for an industry effect and its importance

Organization theorists and strategic management scholars argue that companies make decisions and strategic choices based on the demands and complexities of their external environments (Gordon, 1991; Hitt & Tyler, 1991). While an external environment comprises a variety of components, the industry in which a company operates is significant (Porter, 1980). The underlying economic and technological characteristics of an industry shape its competitive environment, including competition rules and strategic choices for companies (Porter, 1980). As such, firms' strategic orientations, behavior, and performance are driven by industry-specific

contextual factors, such as industry structure, industry-based logic, and industry norms.

Industry structure, which pertains to resource distribution, barriers to entry, rivalry, and interaction between value chain members, varies across industries (Hill & Deeds, 1996). According to industry organization economists, industry structure largely affects the profitability of companies operating in it (Barney & Ouchi, 1986; Hitt & Tyler, 1991). For instance, the pharmaceutical industry structure has classically been characterized by high entry barriers due to the enormous amount of capital investments required to cover fixed costs and innovation expenses (Lofstrom et al., 2014; Olk & West, 2020). Such entry barriers, combined with strong public protection mechanisms such as patents, allow incumbent pharmaceutical firms to earn high profit margins in the long term (Olk & West, 2020). In contrast, retail and food services are usually classified as low-barrier industries, accompanied by naturally lower expected returns (Lofstrom et al., 2014). Industry structure and competition rules are far from static, continuously influenced by a range of dynamics, including technological innovations and changing public policies. A classic example is the commercial air transportation industry. The global airline liberalization trend, starting with the Airline Deregulation Act introduced in the United States in 1978, has drastically lowered the barrier to entering this industry. Low-cost carriers (LCCs), such as Southwest Airlines, have emerged with different business models and have challenged so-called legacy airlines (Bachwich & Wittman, 2017). Over the past decade, LCCs have rapidly expanded their business, reaching 31% of the global total seat capacity as of 2019 (Mazareanu, 2020), and have significantly changed the industry order.

With such a significant impact on profitability, industry structure is a powerful force that drives the strategic choices of firms operating in it (Barney & Ouchi, 1986; Hitt & Tyler, 1991). Faced with fierce price competition due to the deregulation trend mentioned above, many airlines have turned to associative strategies, such as forming alliances with other airlines to streamline their business structure, improve resource optimization, and gain competitive advantages (Castiglioni et al., 2018). The commercial airline industry has been transformed from firm versus firm to alliance versus alliance, as alliance formation became one of the most important strategic decisions for airlines.

In addition, assumptions about customers, competitors, and society's expectations, and values concerning the "right things to do," also vary across industries (Gordon, 1991). For instance, although environmental issues have become a universal concern, mining and energy industries are usually under the spotlight, as they are considered to have a more negative impact on the environment (Vollero et al., 2019). Compared to other sectors, such as the media, they are subject to more public scrutiny and heightened social expectations to take environmental actions.

Similarly, institutional theorists suggest that companies in the same industry form common institutional logic, which is a set of norms, values, and beliefs that they use to make sense of their environments (Thornton, 2002). Spender

(1989) coined the term “industry recipe,” referring to this common logic, common knowledge, or “common sense” regarding “the appropriate way to compete” shared by firms within a particular industry (Jacobs et al., 2016, p. 1408). Such industry norms exert powerful social influence and institutional pressures on firms in the same industry, determining how they behave and strategize (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Mithas et al., 2013). There are several reasons why executives and managers are incentivized to comply with industry norms. First, by following decisions made by other organizations in the same industry, they can save on the cost of finding the optimal strategy (Ho et al., 2017). Second, industry norms and standardized practices are likely to be viewed as legitimate or rational by business partners and investors; therefore, deviating from them can harm the company’s legitimacy and capital (Prawesh et al., 2021). Yang (2018) found that institutional pressure from public agents and competitors was the reason behind Taiwanese container shipping companies’ decisions to adopt green supply chain management practices. Similarly, according to Gallego-Álvarez and Pucheta-Martínez (2020), companies in the banking industry faced common pressure from stakeholders to take environmental responsibility and conduct environmental reporting as part of their strategy.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) referred to these institutional pressures as coercive, normative, and mimetic pressures that drive companies in the same industry to conform and behave in a similar manner. Coercive pressure is derived from the coercive authority of entities on which companies are dependent, including the government, suppliers, customers, and parent companies. Normative pressure emerges from the professionalization of companies and experts in the field, determining the specific codes of conduct or standards shared by companies to survive and progress. Mimetic pressure results from uncertainties confronted by companies. To overcome uncertainties, companies imitate other legitimate and relevant companies in the same industry. Therefore, it is not surprising that corporate decision-making is often influenced by industry benchmarks (Prawesh et al., 2021).

In sum, there are several reasons to expect that D&I orientation differs across industries and that there is variation in how industries perceive the importance of D&I and adopt D&I practices. According to Refinitiv D&I index 100 (2020), banking, investment services, insurance, pharmaceuticals, and telecommunication services were the leading industries in diversity and inclusion (Refinitiv, 2020). On the other hand, manufacturing was considered to lag behind (PwC & The Manufacturing Institute, 2018). Such a gap can be attributed to the different costs and expected returns from D&I initiatives by industry. Another possible reason is the varied institutional pressure to engage in D&I. Zhang (2020) argued that the legitimacy of gender diversity should be industry-specific, as different industries value gender diversity differently. Dobbin et al. (2011) suggested that the industry prevalence of diversity practice had a powerful effect on firms’ decisions to adopt diversity management programs.

Recently, increasing attention to D&I in various industries has been demonstrated by the increasing number of industry-based D&I reports, such as BIO’s annual report on diversity in the biotechnology industry (Biotechnology

Innovation Organization, 2020), Deloitte's report on diversity in the automotive industry (2020), and the D&I report in the financial industry by the US House Committee on Financial Services (2020). However, most reports have focused on specific industries in Western countries, particularly the United States. While these reports have provided insights into D&I trends, there remains a lack of understanding of D&I orientation across industries in Japan. Identifying significant industry differences in D&I orientation would reveal the relevance of institutional dynamics at the industry level for fostering D&I.

Methods

In order to conduct a cross-industry analysis of D&I orientations in Japan, this study used the Corporate Social Responsibility Database (CSRDB) by Toyo Keizai, which is the most prominent and comprehensive database of corporate social responsibility information in Japan. It is based on a corporate survey distributed annually by Toyo Keizai to all publicly listed companies in Japan. This study included data from the first CSRDB during 2006–2020.

All industries represented in the CSRDB were analyzed and categorized using the Global Industry Classification Standards (GICS) developed by S&P Dow Jones Indices. The total sample included 19 GICS industries from diverse sectors, such as materials, industrials, energy, information technology, consumer staples, consumer discretionary, financials, and real estate.

D&I orientation was examined in terms of employment composition, policy and support, and women's leadership. Employment composition indicated workforce diversity and was measured using four demographic attributes of employees: gender (1 = male, 0 = female); age (1 = under 30 years, 2 = 30–39 years, 3 = 40–49 years, 4 = 50–59 years, and 5 = 60 years and above); nationality (1 = Japanese, 0 = foreign); and disability (1 = people with disabilities, 0 = people without disabilities). To capture the variety in each attribute across categories, we followed previous studies (Harrison & Klein, 2007; Joshi & Roh, 2009) and measured diversity using an entropy-based diversity index (Teachman, 1980). Employee composition was more diverse when this index had larger values as in the case when employment composition spread more evenly across more categories in each attribute. The mean value of each diversity index was calculated for each industry.

D&I support and policies were based on the presence of five indicators: (1) a dedicated department for the purpose of utilizing and advancing the skills of a diverse workforce (diverse workforce empowerment); (2) a dedicated department for the purpose of utilizing and advancing the skills of female employees (women's empowerment); (3) basic policies for LGBT; (4) a reemployment system for employees who left the company due to pregnancy, childbirth, childcare, nursing care, or transfer; and (5) an employment system for employees until the age of 65. D&I support and policies were operationalized using the percentage of companies with each indicator in each industry. Two indicators were used for women's leadership: the average percentage of women in management positions and the average percentage of women on boards in each industry.

In order to determine whether Japanese companies' D&I orientations differed across industries, a repeated-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to correct for the correlations of observations from the same industry over time. The F-test was conducted based on this method, with Box's conservative correction factor reported in STATA.

To further analyze how D&I orientation differs across industries and whether there was homogeneity in D&I orientation among industries in the same sector, regression and descriptive analyses exploring industry dynamics and trends within sectors were conducted.

Results

As reported in Table 3.1, we find that for all indicators of D&I orientations (gender diversity, age diversity, foreign employment, disability employment, diverse workforce empowerment, LGBT policy, reemployment system, employment until the age of 65, women's empowerment, women in management, and women on boards), ANOVA F-statistics are significant at the 0.001 level, indicating that D&I orientation is significantly different across industries. Differences across industries are also evident in the regression results, which show significant coefficients across industries (the values are not reported here for brevity). This supports the argument that industries have unique institutional dynamics, which affect how companies respond to internal and external pressures.

Table 3.1 also reports the F-test for the time variable. All F-statistics, except for foreign employment, are significant at the 0.001 level. This is consistent with the positive and significant coefficients of time for all D&I orientations, excluding foreign employment, in the regression analyses. This suggests that D&I orientation has significantly increased or strengthened over the years, except for foreign employment.

Figures 3.1–3.3 and Tables 3.2–3.4 present the trends and patterns in D&I orientation across industries. Figure 3.1 illustrates the employment composition across industries, using the mean value of the diversity index in terms of gender, age, nationality, and disability. The y-axis on the left represents the scale for age and gender diversity ranging from 0 to 1, while the axis on the right represents foreign employment and disability employment ranging from 0 to 0.12. Age diversity is the highest among the other forms of diversity in all industries. Moreover, although there is a significant difference in age diversity across industries, this difference is smaller compared to gender diversity, disability employment, and foreign employment. While the plot for age diversity remains within a narrow range, the plots for gender diversity, disability employment, and foreign employment show significant and greater differences across industries and sectors. Industries in the financial sector, including banks, diversified financials, insurance, and other financials, have the most diverse workforce, while the energy sector has the least diverse workforce. While age diversity and foreign employment are high in the materials and industrial sectors, including capital goods, transportation, and

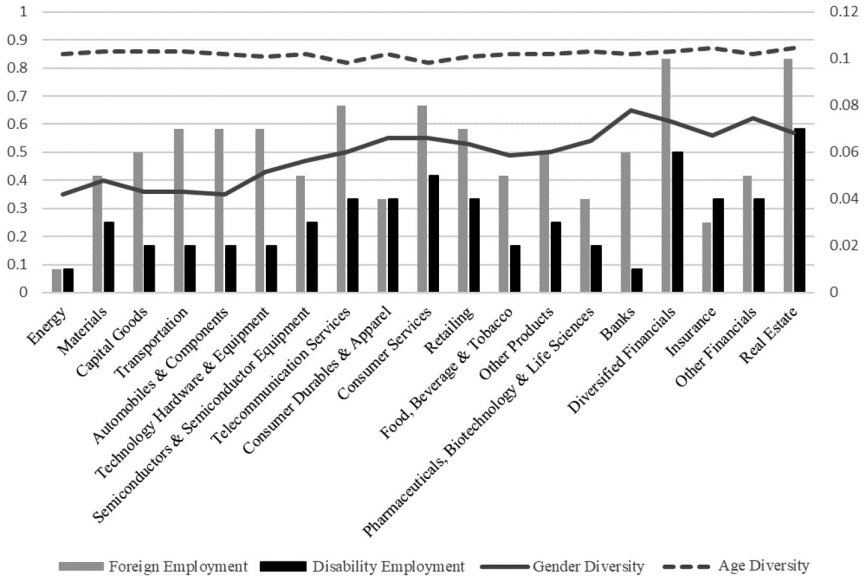


Figure 3.1 Diverse workforce employment, 2006–2020

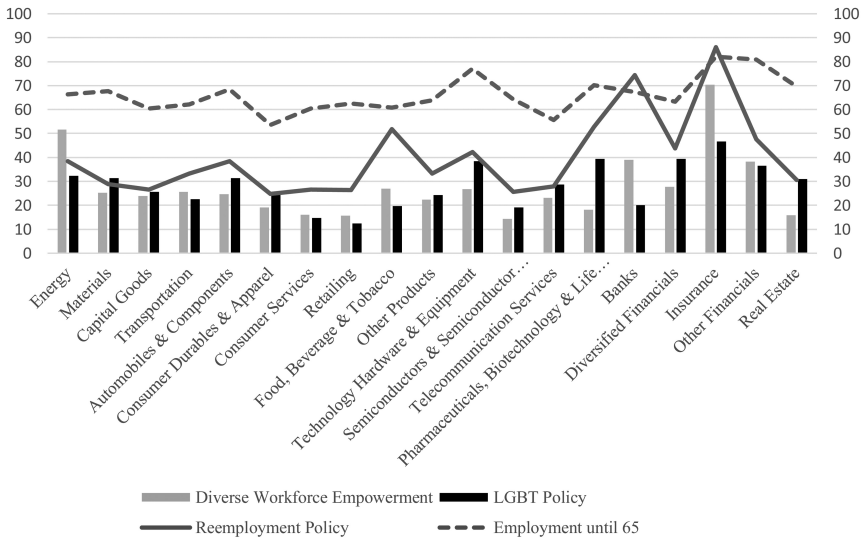


Figure 3.2 Diverse workforce empowerment and policies, 2006–2020

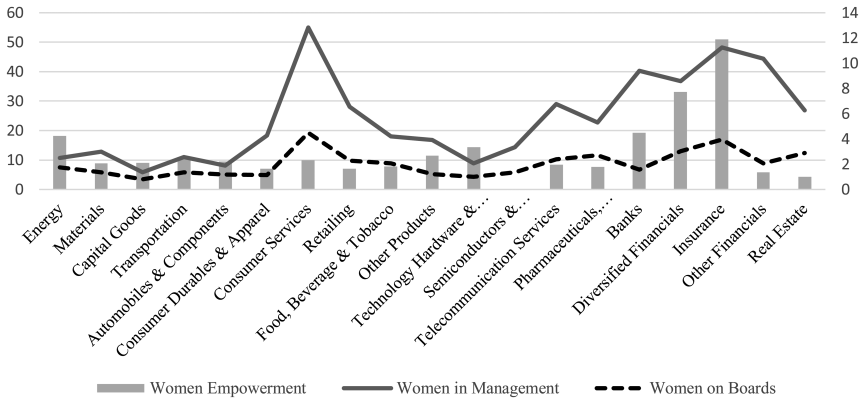


Figure 3.3 Women leadership (2006–2020) and empowerment (2008–2011)

automobile and components industries, gender diversity and disability employment are remarkably low in these sectors.

Figure 3.2 illustrates the percentage of companies implementing the four types of D&I policy and support, diverse workforce empowerment, LGBT policy, reemployment policy, and employment until the age of 65, for each industry. The D&I policy and support in terms of women's empowerment and women's leadership indicators are presented in Figure 3.3. Over 50% of companies in all industries had an employment policy until the age of 65. The next common D&I policy and support employed by companies was a reemployment policy, followed by diverse workforce empowerment and LGBT policies. Overall, the insurance industry had a strong D&I orientation in terms of D&I policy and support. Over 70% of companies in the insurance industry had employment policies until the age of 65, reemployment policies, and diverse workforce empowerment, while about 45% had an LGBT policy. The bank industry demonstrated a strong D&I orientation in terms of D&I support and policy, except for LGBT policies. Although the availability of D&I support and policies in the diversified financial industry was lower than the insurance and banking industries, it was moderately higher compared to other industries. In sum, the financial sector demonstrated a strong D&I orientation in terms of D&I policy and support. On the other hand, the consumer discretionary sector, particularly consumer services and retail industries, had a weaker D&I orientation, particularly relating to diverse workforce empowerment and LGBT policies.

Figure 3.3 illustrates the percentage of companies with a specific department for women's empowerment and women in leadership in each industry. The y-axis on the left represents the scale for women empowerment ranging from 0 to 60, while the axis on the right represents women in management and women on boards ranging from 0 to 0.14. The values for women's empowerment were available only between 2008 and 2011. Since 2012, companies have reported the

Table 3.2 Change in diverse workforce employment

Industry	Gender diversity			Age diversity			Foreign employment			Disability Employment										
	Value	Rank	Change	Value	Rank	Change	Value	Rank	Change	Value	Rank	Change								
	2006	2020	2006	2020	2006	2020	2012	2020	2012	2020	2006	2020								
Energy	0.34	0.36	13	15	0.02	0.87	0.86	1	2	-0.01	0.01	0.01	10	10	0	0.09	0.1	3	6	0.01
Materials	0.38	0.43	11	11	0.05	0.85	0.86	3	2	0.01	0.04	0.06	7	7	0.02	0.02	0.11	8	5	0.09
Capital goods	0.32	0.39	14	13	0.07	0.84	0.87	4	1	0.03	0.05	0.07	6	6	0.02	0.07	0.11	5	5	0.04
Transportation	0.31	0.4	15	12	0.09	0.85	0.85	3	3	0	0.04	0.08	7	5	0.04	0.07	0.1	5	6	0.03
Automobiles and components	0.35	0.38	12	14	0.03	0.83	0.86	5	2	0.03	0.16	0.04	3	9	-0.12	0.09	0.11	3	5	0.02
Consumer durables and apparel	0.51	0.58	5	5	0.07	0.84	0.85	4	3	0.01	0.03	0.04	8	9	0.01	0.1	0.15	2	2	0.05
Consumer services	0.49	0.56	7	7	0.07	0.79	0.82	8	5	0.03	0.09	0.09	4	4	0	0.08	0.15	4	2	0.07
Retailing	0.5	0.55	6	8	0.05	0.8	0.84	7	4	0.04	0.09	0.08	4	5	-0.01	0.09	0.17	3	1	0.08
Food, beverage, and tobacco	0.45	0.55	10	8	0.1	0.84	0.85	4	3	0.01	0.08	0.05	5	8	-0.03	0.1	0.13	2	3	0.03
Other products	0.48	0.55	8	8	0.07	0.83	0.86	5	2	0.03	0.03	0.06	8	7	0.03	0.08	0.11	4	5	0.03
Technology hardware and equipment	0.45	0.46	10	10	0.01	0.83	0.84	5	4	0.01	0.04	0.08	7	5	0.04	0.07	0.11	5	5	0.04
Semiconductors and semiconductor equipment	0.47	0.54	9	9	0.07	0.83	0.86	5	2	0.03	0.03	0.06	8	7	0.03	0.08	0.11	4	5	0.03
Telecommunication services	0.48	0.54	8	9	0.06	0.79	0.84	8	4	0.05	0.05	0.11	6	2	0.06	0.06	0.1	6	6	0.04

Pharmaceuticals, biotechnology, and life sciences	0.48	0.57	8	6	0.09	0.86	0.86	2	2	0	0.01	0.04	10	9	0.03	0.07	0.1	5	6	0.03
Banks	0.64	0.67	1	1	0.03	0.85	0.86	3	2	0.01	0	0.09	11	4	0.09	0.09	0.11	3	5	0.02
Diversified financials	0.62	0.61	2	4	-0.01	0.8	0.86	7	2	0.06	0.43	0.13	1	1	-0.3	0.18	0.15	1	2	-0.03
Insurance	0.56	0.55	4	8	-0.01	0.83	0.79	5	6	-0.04	0	0.01	11	10	0.01	0.06	0.1	6	6	0.04
Other financials	0.6	0.65	3	2	0.05	0.82	0.85	6	3	0.03	0.02	0.05	9	8	0.03	0.08	0.12	4	4	0.04
Real estate	0.56	0.62	4	3	0.06	0.79	0.84	8	4	0.05	0.2	0.1	2	3	-0.1	0.03	0.1	7	6	0.07

Table 3.3 Change in diverse workforce empowerment and policies

Industry	Diverse workforce empowerment				LGBT policy				Reemployment System				Employment until age 65							
	Value (%)		Rank		Value (%)		Rank		Value (%)		Rank		Value (%)		Rank					
	2012	2020	2012	2020	2014	2020	2014	2020	2008	2020	2008	2020	2014	2020	2014	2020				
Energy	35.71	68.42	2	1	18.18	41.18	12	5	33.33	52.94	5	10	19.61	63.64	64.71	6	15			
Materials	10.56	33.49	14	10	22.93	26.6	40.99	4	14.39	11.11	49.09	16	12	37.98	57.55	72.12	12	8		
Capital goods	14.29	32.56	9	11	18.27	20.9	29.6	9	8.7	15.05	37.5	14	16	22.45	53.01	72.87	17	5		
Transportation	18.07	35.96	5	9	17.89	13.33	35.96	13	22.63	9.84	55.79	18	9	45.95	62.07	68.13	7	13		
Automobiles and components	9.09	41.67	16	5	32.58	28.57	36.36	3	7.79	72.73		3	n.a.	55.56	81.82	13	3	26.26		
Consumer durables and apparel	9.52	23.08	15	15	13.56	23.08	27.78	7	4.7	30.77	35	7	19	4.23	53.33	61.11	16	16	7.78	
Consumer services	13.1	19.28	12	18	6.18	11.43	24.42	14	12.99	14.29	38.46	15	15	24.17	53.33	59.34	16	18	6.01	
Retailing	8.47	20.75	17	17	12.28	7.87	19.08	15	11.21	25.93	37.22	8	17	11.29	60.5	69.44	9	11	8.94	
Food, beverage, and tobacco	13.73	37.5	11	7	23.77	3.03	37.74	16	8	34.71	22.73	70.91	10	7	48.18	55.26	70.37	14	9	15.11
Other products	15.15	26.53	8	12	11.38	22.22	29.03	8	14	6.81	10	45.16	17	13	35.16	52.17	70	18	10	17.83
Technology hardware, and equipment	15.89	36.89	6	8	21	28.57	48	3	3	19.43	31.91	61.76	6	8	29.85	76.54	84	3	2	7.46
Semiconductors and semiconductor equipment	13.64		19	n.a.	20	29.41	10	13	9.41	25	50	9	11	25	58.33	68.75	11	12	10.42	
Telecommunication services	15.66	26.43	7	13	10.77	23.81	29.76	5	11	5.95	20.37	36.05	11	18	15.68	53.85	60.71	15	17	6.86

Pharmaceuticals, biotechnology, and life sciences	13.04	24.32	13	14	11.28	18.75	59.26	11	2	40.51	15.38	71.43	13	6	56.05	68.42	58.62	5	19	-9.8
Banks	22.22	57.45	3	4	35.23	23.53	27.27	6	16	3.74	50	81.08	2	1	31.08	61.9	72.22	8	7	10.32
Diversified financials	18.18	38.46	4	6	20.28	33.33	42.86	1	4	9.53	40	71.43	3	4	31.43	71.43	66.67	4	14	-4.76
Insurance	63.64	62.5	1	3	-1.14	30	61.54	2	1	31.54	88.89	73.33	1	2	15.56	81.82	80	1	4	-1.82
Other financials	14.29	66.67	10	2	52.38	22.22	61.54	8	1	39.32	39.13	71.43	4	5	32.3	60	85.71	10	1	25.71
Real estate	3.23	23.08	18	16	19.85	40	40		7	40	17.65	42.86	12	14	25.21	81.25	72.73	2	6	-8.52

Table 3.4 Change in women leadership (2006–2020) and empowerment (2008–2011)

Industry	Women in management				Women on boards				Women Empowerment					
	Value (%)		Rank		Value (%)		Rank		Value (%)		Rank		Change	
	2006	2020	2006	2020	2006	2020	2006	2020	2008	2011	2008	2011		
Energy	0.56	3.92	19	16	0.26	4.1	11	10	3.84	12.5	23.53	5	2	11.03
Materials	1.3	4.78	14	14	0.31	3.33	10	12	3.02	9.17	8.28	6	15	-0.89
Capital goods	0.63	2.84	18	19	0.15	2.1	14	19	1.95	6.6	11.3	9	8	4.7
Transportation	1.1	4.45	16	15	0.71	3.06	7	14	2.35	6.56	12.2	10	7	5.64
Automobiles and components	0.65	2.84	17	18	0	2.25	15	18	2.25		9.09		12	9.09
Consumer durables and apparel	2.64	6.58	8	13	0.19	2.88	13	17	2.69	6.67	10	8	11	3.33
Consumer services	10.82	16.83	1	2	4.25	7.22	1	1	2.97	3.85	10.84	14	9	6.99
Retailing	4.45	8.26	4	9	1.03	4.39	5	9	3.36	4.55	8.65	12	14	4.1
Food, beverage, and tobacco	2.11	7.21	11	11	0.83	4.79	6	7	3.96	6.38	10	11	11	3.62
Other products	1.76	7.28	13	10	0.33	3.02	9	15	2.69	8	14.29	7	6	6.29
Technology hardware and equipment	1.2	3.3	15	17	0.24	3.2	12	13	2.96	12.96	16.36	4	5	3.4
Semiconductors and semiconductor equipment	2.69	7.09	7	12	1.05	2.92	4	16	1.87					
Telecommunication services	6	9.88	2	7	1.19	4.73	3	8	3.54	3.28	8.86	15	13	5.58

Pharmaceuticals, biotechnology, and life sciences	1.92	8.43	12	8	6.51	0	5.36	16	3	5.36	10.53	10	n.a.
Banks	4.61	15.87	3	3	11.26	0	5.3	17	4	5.3	16.13	3	1.01
Diversified financials	4.09	14.49	5	4	10.4	0	3.5	18	11	3.5	42.86	1	-22.86
Insurance	2.44	21.18	9	1	18.74	0.64	5.8	8	2	5.16	36.36	2	21.97
Other financials	3.48	12.58	6	5	9.1	1.22	4.8	2	6	3.58	4.35	13	2.79
Real estate	2.38	10.93	10	6	8.55	0	4.97	19	5	4.97		16	

availability of a specific department for diverse workforce empowerment. The financial sector, led by the insurance industry, had the highest percentage of companies with a dedicated department for women's empowerment. The highest percentages of women in management and women on boards were 13% and 5%, respectively, in the consumer services industry. There was a lower representation of women in leadership in the materials, industrial, and information technology (IT) sectors, particularly in the capital goods industry.

D&I orientation trends were further investigated across industries and are presented in Tables 3.2–3.4, where industries with the highest change values are highlighted in dark gray and those with the lowest change values are highlighted in light gray. Table 3.2 demonstrates the change in employment composition from the year when data are available to 2020 across industries. In line with the regression results, D&I orientation in terms of employment composition strengthened over the years, except for foreign employment. The change values were positive in most industries, particularly for gender diversity, age diversity, and disability employment, but not for foreign employment. Foreign employment decreased in six industries and remained constant in two industries over the period 2012–2020. While the bank and diversified financial industries in the financial sector maintained a high rank in gender and age diversity, the insurance industry showed a decrease, particularly for gender diversity and disability employment. The telecommunication services industry demonstrated the highest change values in three out of four employment diversity dimensions: age diversity, foreign employment, and disability employment. This was followed by the real estate industry, with an increase in age diversity and disability employment, and the transportation industry, with an increase in gender diversity and foreign employment. The food, beverage, and tobacco industry showed the highest increase in gender diversity, the retail industry—in disability employment, the diversified financial industry—in age diversity, and the banking industry—in foreign employment. While the diversified financial industry had the most diverse workforce, its gender and foreign employment decreased over the observation period.

Table 3.3 demonstrates the change in D&I policy and support across industries, indicating a general positive trend in most industries in terms of diverse workforce empowerment, LGBT policy, reemployment system, and employment policy until the age of 65. In particular, the other financial industry showed the biggest increase in D&I policy and support orientations, followed by the food, beverage, and tobacco industries, which showed a high increase in LGBT policy and reemployment policy. Its ranking improved in all four types of D&I policies and support. Likewise, the pharmaceutical, biotechnology, and life sciences industries showed a significant increase in D&I orientation in terms of LGBT policy and reemployment policy; however, its employment policy until the age of 65 decreased significantly, reducing its ranking from 5th to 19th. This may suggest a shift in priorities for promoting D&I within the industry. In addition, its stronger emphasis on a reemployment system for employees who left the company due to pregnancy, childbirth, childcare, nursing care, or transfer could explain the significant increase in the industry's gender diversity (Table 3.2). In contrast, industries

in the consumer discretionary sector, such as consumer durables and apparel, consumer services, and retail industries, performed less compared to other industries, particularly in terms of LGBT policy and reemployment system. The ranking of consumer durables and apparel and retail industries in terms of reemployment systems fell from mid- to lowest ranking between 2008 and 2020. While the insurance industry maintained a high ranking in all D&I policy and support, it showed a negative trend over the years, except for LGBT policies.

Table 3.4 shows changes in D&I orientation in terms of women's empowerment and women's leadership across industries. Although the values remained low, changes in women's empowerment and leadership indicated a positive trend. The financial sector showed a significant increase in women's leadership, followed by the pharmaceutical, biotechnology, and life sciences industry, which showed a significant increase in ranking, particularly in terms of women on boards, from 16th to 3rd place. While the financial sector's strong orientation toward women's empowerment was reflected in its strong performance in women's leadership, the energy and automobile and components industries failed to link their orientation toward women's empowerment with women's leadership. Furthermore, the automobile and components industry and the IT sector showed the smallest change in the percentage of women in management and on boards.

Discussion and implications

This chapter examined D&I orientation across industries in Japan. In support of the hypothesis presented in strategic management, organization economics, and organization studies that industry influences the behavior and strategic orientation of companies, the results indicated significant differences in D&I orientation across industries. The cross-industry analysis of D&I orientation in Japan between 2006 and 2020 indicated that (1) industries in the financial sector exhibited the strongest D&I orientation; (2) industries in the energy and industrials sectors displayed a weaker D&I orientation; (3) the pharmaceutical, biotechnology, and life sciences industry showed a high increase in D&I orientation in terms of D&I policy and support and women's leadership; (4) the food, beverage, and tobacco industry demonstrated a significant increase in D&I orientation in terms of employment composition and D&I policy and support; (5) consumer services and retail industries were weak in D&I policy and support; however, the consumer service industry's D&I orientation in terms of women's leadership was strong; (6) the telecommunication services industry showed the greatest change in D&I orientation in terms of employment composition, although its positive change in D&I orientation in terms of policy and support was the lowest. There was less heterogeneity in age diversity and disability employment across industries. These results and their implications were examined using the lens of institutional theory.

This study made several contributions. To our knowledge, this study was the first attempt to conduct a longitudinal cross-industry analysis of D&I orientation in Japan. It covered the period when attention to D&I was limited up to the recent years, when several public policies were introduced and the need for D&I was

widely recognized. While there was a general positive trend for D&I orientation, the results suggested that the attention and efforts invested in D&I differ significantly across industries. Progress was rather marginal in some industries, particularly in the energy, materials, and industrial sectors, and some areas, including women's leadership and employment of underrepresented groups. This calls for an institutional strategy and policy at the sectoral and industrial levels, targeting industries that are rather weak in D&I orientations to further advance D&I in business, along with an awareness that some industries may perceive the value of D&I less or have problems adopting it (Zhang, 2020). For instance, while the energy and automobile and components industries had committed to women's empowerment, the participation of women in leadership positions in these industries was low. Therefore, it is crucial to identify and understand the barriers companies in various industries experience, which policymakers should consider when seeking to facilitate the adoption of D&I.

In addition, the results revealed significant differences in D&I orientation across industries, providing evidence on how industries serve as an institutional context and generate pressures influencing corporate behaviors and strategies. This study showed that industries in the financial sector exhibited a stronger D&I orientation compared to other industries, which could be attributed to institutional conditions and normative pressure conducive to the promotion of D&I in the financial sector. Previous studies demonstrated that external pressure to be better corporate citizens was greater for financial sector companies due to their heavy dependence on external stakeholders for a continued supply of resources (Asif et al., 2013). Moreover, companies in the financial sector are always subject to scrutiny by the public and government and nongovernment institutions due to their dominating influence on the economy, environment, and society (Weber, 2014). Pressure for corporate citizenship among financial sector companies grows during and after a financial crisis (Robins & Krosinsky, 2008). This study covered the period of the global financial crisis in 2008–2009 and economic recessions in Japan, which could have driven financial sector companies to promote corporate social responsibility and D&I.

The energy and industrial sectors have been widely regarded as least diverse, particularly in terms of gender (Johnstone & Silva, 2020). Therefore, it is not surprising that the D&I orientation of companies in the energy and industrial sectors was weak. (Baruah, 2019) argued that such a lack of diversity in the energy sector was caused by prevailing industry norms, which put women at a disadvantage in comparison to men in accessing information about job opportunities and industry trends. There was also a lack of awareness regarding the diverse range of jobs and specializations in the energy sector, which was usually perceived as a place to work for engineers and equipment installers only. The International Energy Agency recognized this critical issue and aimed to accelerate D&I in the energy industry. Laura McGee, CEO of Canada-based company Diversio, stated that the “energy sector is in the middle of the pack compared to some sectors, and could achieve rapid progress by learning from other industries” (IEA, 2021). Further studies on identifying the specific forces that drive

or inhibit the progress of D&I across industries in Japan are key to devising collective action.

Furthermore, this study shed light on the general trend of D&I orientation across industries in Japan, indicating the crucial role of regulatory forces in shaping corporate behavior. While employment practices and D&I policy and support for women and seniors significantly increased across industries in Japan, corporate efforts toward the participation of foreigners and people with disabilities remained low. This concurred with the findings presented in Chapter 2, which indicated that at the public policy level, greater attention has been paid to resolving issues related to women's participation in the workforce and aging society in Japan, with less focus on other underrepresented groups, including people with disabilities and foreign nationals. In summary, weak D&I public policy results in a weak D&I orientation across industries. As argued by institutional theory, regulatory frameworks and pressures transmit values to companies that determine their business and management orientations. To better promote D&I of underrepresented groups in Japan, the government should develop more public policies in order to influence companies' willingness to promote and adopt appropriate policies.

Employment of people with disabilities and foreign nationals should be further investigated. Although employment of people with disabilities increased in some industries, it remained unchanged in other industries. In addition, the results indicated low heterogeneity across industries, potentially indicating that the employment of people with disabilities was largely driven by the quota system. Although mandatory employment put pressure on companies to comply, voluntary and strategic efforts across industries have not been achieved yet. Moreover, not only that diversity in terms of foreign employment did not significantly increase in most industries; it also decreased in the consumer discretionary sector.

Conclusion

This chapter provided an industry analysis of D&I in Japan. Using data on multiple industries in the manufacturing and service sectors between 2006 and 2020, this study presented evidence on differences in D&I orientation across industries and illustrated D&I trends and practices employed by companies in various industries. This chapter demonstrated that both the Japanese government and companies play crucial roles in promoting D&I. The government can develop progressive D&I public policies and ensure implementation, while companies can design corporate policies and programs to enhance participation in the workforce and inclusion of different groups of employees. Previous research indicates that public policies can trigger corporate actions, while corporate policies and programs can lead to positive corporate performance if they are tailored to industry contexts. In order for Japan to further advance D&I, understanding industry and institutional factors that influence the value and adoption of D&I across industries is required. Future studies should account for contextual variations across industries in analyzing D&I orientations and making policy recommendations at the industry level.

Acknowledgment

This research was supported by grants from the Private University Research Branding Project (Type B: Global Development Category) of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology and the Center for Inclusive Leadership in Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (<https://en.apu.ac.jp/cil/>).

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4 The influence of workforce diversity on the financial performance of Japanese companies

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Introduction

Japan is one of the most aged countries in the world, and there are concerns about a shortage of labor force. The labor force in Japan was 68.86 million in 2020, and it is predicted to decline to 58–63.62 million by 2030 (Ministry of Health Labour and Welfare, 2016). To remedy this situation, the government aims to secure the labor force by extending the retirement age, rehiring retirees, hiring women, and accepting foreign employees. This high demand for labor increased Japanese companies' interest in workforce diversity over the years. For instance, Nikkeiren (the Japan Federation of Employers' Associations) established the Nikkei-ren diversity work rules study group in 2000 (Taniguchi, 2008). The Keizai Doyukai (Japan Association of Corporate Executives) emphasized the importance of diversity management for both corporate strategy and human resource management in 2004. In particular, from a strategic perspective, Japanese companies seek to gain a competitive advantage by reemployment of the elderly, hiring and training people with disabilities, and accepting and utilizing the skills of foreign employees.

Keidanren conducted a survey on Promoting Diversity and Inclusion in the post-corona era in 2020. The results showed that Japanese companies expected to benefit from promoting diversity and inclusion (D&I) in terms of “retaining and attracting excellent human resources,” “promoting product innovation,” and “enhancing the corporate sensitivity to changes in the business environment and the ability to respond to crises” (Keidanren, 2020, p. 20). However, they reported some difficulties in utilizing D&I in their corporate strategies, such as “it takes too much time to gain benefits from D&I practices” and “it is difficult to spread the importance of promoting diversity and inclusion among employees” (Keidanren, 2020, p. 20). How these conflicting perspectives on D&I are reflected in the performance of Japanese companies is worth investigating.

In addition, scholars generated conflicting claims and mixed findings on the impact of D&I. Cox and Blake (1991) asserted that companies can create a competitive advantage through diversity management by saving costs, attracting and retaining excellent employees, good reputation, promoting team creativity and innovation, improving decision-making, and enhancing organizational

flexibility. Lu et al. (2015) found a positive effect of age diversity on attracting diverse customer groups. Other benefits of diversity include an increase in the quality of group performance, creativity of ideas, cooperation, and an increase in the number of perspectives and alternatives considered (Brickson, 2000; Milliken & Martins, 1996). However, previous studies have indicated negative consequences of diversity, such as team member conflict, low organizational attachment, decreased group integration and cohesion, dissatisfaction, and high turnover (Brickson, 2000; Horwitz & Horwitz, 2007; Milliken & Martins, 1996; Stahl & Maznevski, 2021).

Mixed empirical results on the relationship between workforce diversity and performance show its complexity. For instance, Horwitz and Horwitz (2007) conducted a meta-analysis and found that task-related diversity, such as functional expertise, education, and organizational tenure, was positively related with team performance, whereas biodemographic diversity, such as age, gender, and race/ethnicity, was negatively correlated with team performance. Joshi and Roh (2009) conducted a meta-analysis and found that the direct effects of team diversity on performance were minimal and that team gender and racial diversity had a negative correlation with team performance. Richard (2000) revealed that cultural diversity had a positive correlation with firm performance only when the firm pursued a growth strategy. Bell et al. (2011) demonstrated that functional background diversity had a small positive correlation with general team performance and team creativity and innovation, whereas racial and gender diversity had small negative correlations with team performance, while age diversity was unrelated to team performance.

This chapter explored the relationship between workforce diversity and performance in Japan. Workforce diversity was defined as

the division of the workforce into distinct categories that (a) have a perceived commonality within a given cultural or national context, and that (b) impact potentially harmful or beneficial employment outcomes such as job opportunities, treatment in the workplace, and promotion prospects—irrespective of job-related skills and qualifications.

(Mor Barak, 2014, p. 136)

Most diversity-related research focused on the United States and European countries, with only a few cases based on the Asian context (Magoshi & Chang, 2009; Yasser et al., 2017). Results may differ as workforce diversity is viewed and managed differently across contexts (Farndale et al., 2015; Shore et al., 2018). In Japan, the diversity issue has primarily focused on unfairness in the workplace between women and men (Taniguchi, 2008). However, with increasing expectations for workforce diversity, workplace issues related to people with disabilities, foreign nationals, and the elderly have also gained attention. Therefore, this study explored the relationship between workforce diversity and performance in the Japanese context and identified similarities and differences with the findings of existing studies.

This chapter posed the following research question: How is each workforce diversity indicator related to the financial performance of Japanese companies? As mentioned above, the need for a diverse workforce continues to increase in Japan. Japanese companies hire more women and foreigners to cope with the labor shortage caused by the aging of society. In addition, the retirement age in Japan will be extended to 65 years in 2025, which will allow more people of various ages to work in the same company. The employment rate for people with disabilities will be set at 2.3% for Japanese companies from March 2021, and companies will be required to find ways to attract, motivate, and retain them.

This chapter analyzed the different dimensions of workforce diversity in Japan at the organizational level. Prior research focused on analyzing the performance effects of workforce diversity on teams or top management (Joshi & Roh, 2009); thus, the impact of workforce diversity on organizations' financial performance has not been sufficiently explored. This chapter analyzed the relationship between workforce diversity and financial performance using panel data of Japanese companies collected by Toyo Keizai between 2014 and 2019.

This study contributed to the diversity and inclusion literature by clarifying the relationship between workforce diversity and performance in Japan. The results provided evidence from the Asian context, unlike prior studies focusing mainly on the United States and Europe. In addition, types of diversity measures that impact financial performance in the Japanese context were identified. For practitioners, this study provided implications for promoting diversity and inclusion, and leveraging the advantage for corporate performance.

Theories on the relationship between workforce diversity and financial performance

There are two opposing views on the relationship between workforce diversity and corporate performance: that workforce diversity improves corporate performance and that workforce diversity worsens corporate performance. Figure 4.1 shows this study's conceptual map, indicating arguments regarding the relationship between workforce diversity and performance. This study summarized the theoretical background and empirical results of each argument in detail.

Positive effect of workforce diversity on financial performance

Research arguing a positive relationship between workforce diversity and financial performance relies on the resource-based view (RBV). The RBV asserts that companies gain competitive advantages when they have valuable, rare, and inimitable resources (Barney, 1991). Workforce diversity serves as a sustained competitive advantage because knowledge, skills, and know-how are difficult to imitate and acquire for other companies.

Companies that employ a diverse workforce find it easier to offer products and services tailored to the various demographic characteristics of their customers (Cox & Blake, 1991). Lu et al. (2015) found that organizations with diverse age

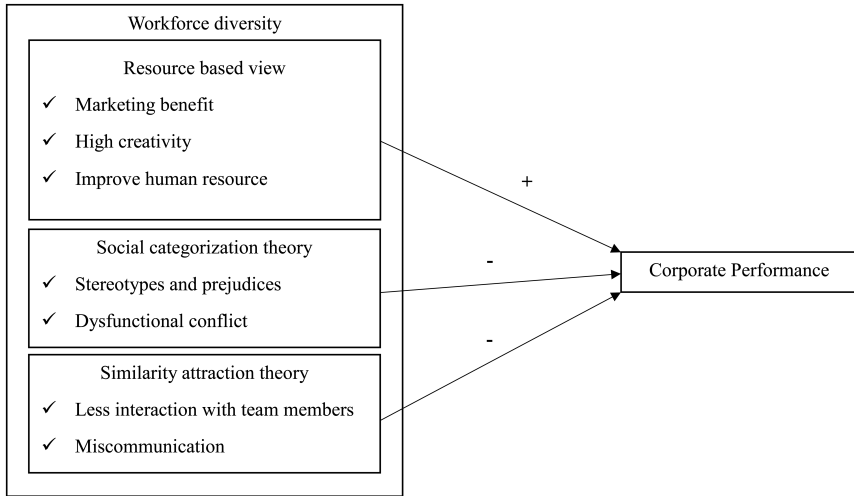


Figure 4.1 Overview of the relationship between workforce diversity and corporate performance

groups were more likely to attract a diverse customer base, indicating enhanced organizational attractiveness to a wide spectrum of customers. Studies have also shown that women and minorities have greater intentions for workplace diversity and are more attracted to companies that promote workplace diversity in their recruitment materials (Perkins et al., 2000; Thomas & Wise, 1999).

In addition, the diversity of human resources is related to the diversity of knowledge and skills, and a more diverse workplace is more likely to increase creativity and lead to innovation (Taylor & Greve, 2006). This relationship is implied by the information and decision-making theory, which states that increased organizational diversity improves problem-solving skills and information availability, as heterogeneous groups are more likely to share new, unknown information. Therefore, diversity enhances problem-solving skills, encourages uniqueness, and improves performance within the organization (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998).

Japanese companies can acquire unique resources by promoting diversity in their workplace and be perceived as having a good work–life balance and acquiring better human resources than other companies. Magoshi and Chang (2009) conducted a survey on the relationship between organizational commitment and diversity management in Japan and Korea and found that diversity management practices had positive effects on employees' organizational commitment.

Negative effect of workforce diversity on financial performance

Some studies suggested negative outcomes of workforce diversity on financial performance. Social categorization theory (Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Tajfel et al.,

1971) asserted that people desire to maintain high self-esteem and their behaviors are expressed as a process of social comparison. Therefore, they socially categorize themselves and others using salient characteristics, such as age, gender, organizational affiliation, status, and religion. In this self-categorization process, as long as self-perception is positive, they try to maximize their distinction within or from other groups and understand others as less attractive, promoting stereotypes and prejudices against people outside their own groups. These stereotypes and prejudices can cause conflict within the organization, create communication problems, and lead to factionalism, which, in turn, can have a negative impact on organizational loyalty, organizational commitment, and problem-solving skills (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998).

The similarity attraction theory (Byrne, 1961; Byrne et al., 1966) suggests that similarity in all attributes, ranging from attitudes and values to demographic variables, increases attraction and favoritism among individuals. People with similar attributes may have common life experiences and values, which may facilitate mutual interaction and regarding each other in a positive way. Therefore, if organizational members are diverse, communication is less frequent, messages are distorted, and miscommunication may occur. This process negatively affects organizational performance.

Prior empirical results on workforce diversity and financial performance

Previous studies found mixed empirical evidence on the effect of workforce diversity on financial performance. This section summarizes prior research findings on the effects of diversity in terms of gender, race, age, and disability.

Several studies have focused on gender diversity in top management and firm performance, indicating a positive effect of board member gender diversity on firm performance (Campbell & Minguez-Vera, 2008; Dezsö & Ross, 2012; Richard et al., 2004). Post and Byron (2015) conducted a meta-analysis and found that women's board representation was positively related to accounting returns. However, research on the gender diversity of the total workforce and firm performance is limited. For instance, Zhang (2020) found that the relationship between gender diversity and firm performance depends on the country and industry. If countries and industries accepted gender diversity, firms that promote gender diversity receive more positive market valuations and increased revenue.

However, opposite empirical findings suggested that gender diversity was associated with lower productivity and efficiency (Richard et al., 2004). In particular, meta-research showed that gender diversity was negatively related to team performance (Joshi & Roh, 2009).

Results regarding the relationship between racial diversity and firm performance were mixed. Richard (2000) found that only firm strategies of growth affected the relationship between racial diversity and firm performance. Richard et al. (2007) found a U-shaped relationship between racial diversity and short-term performance and a linear relationship between diversity and long-term performance.

Ely et al. (2012) analyzed 496 retail bank branches in the United States and found that when racial minorities evaluate their team's learning environment negatively, racial diversity becomes a burden on their team performance. Although Horwitz and Horwitz (2007) found no significant relationship between racial diversity and team performance in their meta-research, Joshi and Roh (2009) revealed a negative relationship. Tsui et al. (1992) found that racial diversity was associated with low psychological commitment, high frequency of absences, and low intent to stay, which may lead to poor corporate performance.

Likewise, results regarding age diversity and firm performance were mixed. Lu et al. (2015) found that high age diversity strengthened the relationship between service organization performance and human resource management systems. On the other hand, age diversity may have a negative impact on firm performance by fostering a climate of discrimination based on age (Kunze et al., 2011). Kearney and Gebert (2009) found that age diversity was not related to team performance when transformational leadership was high; however, it was negatively related to team performance when transformational leadership was low. De Meulenaere et al. (2016) demonstrated that the effect of age diversity on performance depended on the particular shape of the age distribution in an organization. In particular, companies with a heterogenous age distribution had higher productivity than those with polarized age distribution.

Previous studies on disability employment and firm performance focused on performance evaluation of people with disabilities (Colella et al., 1998), identifying significant negative effects of disability employment on performance expectations and hiring decisions (Ren et al., 2008). Dwertmann and Boehm (2016) applied the leader–member exchange theory and revealed that when one person in supervisor–subordinate relationship had a disability and the other did not, this was associated with lower LMX and lower performance.

This section reviewed the empirical results regarding the relationships between gender, race, age, disability diversity, and firm performance. While some studies found negative effects of disability employment on firm performance, other studies on the other three dimensions of workforce diversity showed mixed results. This chapter investigated the relationship between four diversity measurements and firm performance in the Japanese context.

Data and methods

Data

Data were collected from the Toyo Keizai CSR data for 2014–2019. Toyo Keizai Inc. has conducted a corporate survey on CSR every year since 2005, including corporate data related to human resources, the natural environment, corporate governance, and social responsibility. To create workforce diversity variables, this study focused on data related to human resources. In addition, the Nikkei NEEDS database was used to collect basic financial data from 2014 to 2020.

Variables and methods

Four independent variables were created to investigate the relationship between workforce diversity and financial performance. Toyo Keizai CSR reported several demographic characteristics, such as number of male and female employees, number of foreign employees, number of employees in five age categories (under 30, 30 to 39, 40 to 49, 50 to 59, and over 60 years old), and number of employees with disabilities. An entropy-based diversity index was applied to create workforce diversity variables (Choi et al., 2017; Jehn et al., 1999; Teachman, 1980):

$$Diversity = \sum -P_i (\ln P_i),$$

where i represents a particular category (male/female, foreign employee/Japanese employee, under 30/30 to 39/40 to 49/50 to 59/over 60, and employees with/without disabilities) and P_i is the proportion of the members of a particular category within the organization.

To calculate the natural logarithm for all values in each category, including 0, we added 1 to the number of employees for each category and the total number of employees. The higher the workforce diversity index indicated, the greater the distribution of characteristics within the organization.

To measure corporate financial performance, return on assets (ROA) and return on equity (ROE) were used as dependent variables. These variables are utilized in management literature as account-based performance measures. A one-year lag was set between the dependent and independent variables. Control variables that may have affected corporate profitability were included. First, *firm risk*, or the ratio of total liabilities to total assets, was included, as risk is related to both corporate financial performance and CSR activities, including diversity practices (Choi & Wang, 2009; Waddock & Graves, 1997). Second, *firm size*, measured by the natural logarithm of total sales, was included, as large size brings economies of scale and scope (Choi & Wang, 2009). Keidanren (2020) found that most Japanese companies expected to promote product innovation through diversity management. Therefore, *R&D intensity*, measured as R&D expenditure divided by total sales, was included. Finally, companies with more *slack resources* can take more initiative to promote diversity and have more opportunities to invest in new projects, creating a positive effect on financial performance. Therefore, *slack resources*, measured as the total cash flow from a firm's operations, financing, and investing activities, scaled by its total assets, were included as a control variable (Surroca et al., 2010).

Both random and fixed effect models were utilized to investigate the relationship between workforce diversity and financial performance using unbalanced panel data. In the fixed effect model, all factors that remained constant over the years, which were not directly measured by other control variables but may correlate with financial performance, were controlled. In addition, the Hausman test

was conducted to determine whether the fixed model was more appropriate than the random effect model. The results indicated support for the fixed effect model; hence, only the results of the fixed effect model are shown:

$$CFP_{it+1} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 WD_{it} + \beta_2 Con_{it} + \beta_3 CFP_{it} + \delta_t + \alpha_j + \varepsilon_{it},$$

where *CFP* denotes corporate financial performance (ROA or ROE) for company *i* at time *t*, and *WD* is the workforce diversity index. *Con* represents the control variables (firm risk, firm size, R&D intensity, and slack resources). To remedy serial correlation, prior corporate financial performance was included in the model (Greene, 2012). δ represents the fixed time effect (year), and α represents the individual firm-specific disturbance. Finally, ε represents the error term.

Results

Table 4.1 presents the descriptive statistics and correlations for the variables used to test the relationship between workforce diversity and financial performance. Foreign diversity has a negative relationship with ROA, while age diversity has a negative relationship with both ROA and ROE.

Table 4.2 presents the results of the fixed effect model with ROA as the dependent variable. Model 1 includes all control variables. Each diversity variable from Models 2 to 5 was included. Model 6 represents the full model. Gender diversity, foreign diversity, and disability diversity did not have a significant relationship with ROA. Age diversity had a positive relationship with ROA ($\beta = 0.256$), indicating that companies with greater age diversity had a higher ROA than others. Table 4.3 shows the average percentage of each age category from 2014 to 2019. The average percentage of employees under the age of 30 in 2014 was 18.7%. The category with the highest mean value was the 40–49 age group, ranging from 30.4% to 32.7%.

The positive effect of age diversity on ROA could be attributed to the higher percentage of employees under 30 and a higher percentage of workers over 60. Japanese companies use an age-based seniority system for determining wages; therefore, companies with many young workers can minimize their labor costs. In addition, Japanese companies have a retirement age of 60 years, which will be extended to 65 years in 2025. Wages in Japanese companies generally decline slowly from the mid-50s, and companies with high age diversity may be able to hire more people with specific knowledge and skills over the age of 60 at a reduced cost. This may be why companies with higher age diversity have higher ROA, in addition to having access to a diverse set of knowledge and skills.

To further explore the relationship between age diversity and firm performance, the sample was categorized as *high age diversity firms* that have one standard deviation higher than the average age diversity and *low age diversity firms* that

Table 4.1 Descriptive statistics and correlations

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. ROA	0.039	0.046									
2. ROE	0.072	0.261	0.274								
3. Risk	0.471	0.169	-0.226	0.027							
4. Size	5.413	0.725	0.093	0.077	0.297						
5. R&D intensity	0.038	0.256	-0.486	-0.097	-0.122	-0.128					
6. Slack	0.007	0.040	0.083	0.001	-0.082	-0.064	0.037				
7. Gender diversity	0.429	0.118	0.041	-0.022	-0.238	-0.186	0.074	0.056			
8. Foreign diversity	0.057	0.075	-0.067	-0.036	-0.011	-0.106	0.030	0.004	0.162		
9. Age diversity	0.854	0.021	-0.128	-0.054	0.059	-0.133	0.060	-0.018	-0.115	0.047	
10. Disability diversity	0.118	0.079	-0.005	-0.007	-0.034	0.051	-0.011	-0.013	0.170	0.118	-0.007

Notes: Boldface coefficients are significant at $p < .05$

Table 4.2 Results with ROA as dependent variable

ROA	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Intercept	0.639	***	0.629	***	0.632	***	0.437	**	0.637	***	0.406	**
Risk	0.121	***	0.122	***	0.120	***	0.123	***	0.121	***	0.124	***
Size	-0.123	***	-0.123	***	-0.121	***	-0.125	***	-0.122	***	-0.123	***
R&D intensity	-0.122	***	-0.122	***	-0.122	***	-0.121	***	-0.122	***	-0.120	***
Slack	-0.052	**	-0.052	**	-0.052	**	-0.052	**	-0.051	**	-0.052	**
Prior ROA	0.158	***	0.159	***	0.158	***	0.159	***	0.160	***	0.163	***
Gender			0.025		0.044				0.029		0.039	
diversity												
Foreign					-0.032						-0.019	
diversity												
Age diversity											0.256	*
Disability							0.247	+	0.127		-0.026	
diversity										0.020		
Year dummies	Included		Included		Included		Included		Included		Included	
Observations	2081		2081		2076		2081		2069		2064	

Notes: + $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 4.3 Average percentage of each age category

Variable	2014		2015		2016		2017		2018		2019	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Under 30	0.187	0.069	0.179	0.065	0.179	0.066	0.175	0.067	0.179	0.066	0.186	0.065
30-39	0.273	0.072	0.267	0.075	0.260	0.072	0.260	0.070	0.255	0.071	0.255	0.070
40-49	0.323	0.073	0.327	0.068	0.326	0.066	0.324	0.060	0.317	0.057	0.304	0.055
50-59	0.194	0.065	0.202	0.067	0.207	0.069	0.214	0.070	0.219	0.073	0.227	0.077
Over 60	0.023	0.032	0.025	0.033	0.028	0.043	0.028	0.035	0.030	0.037	0.029	0.037
Observations	280		318		358		377		403		345	

have one standard deviation lower than the average age diversity for each year. The results are presented in Table 4.4. Consistent with assumptions, the average percentage of high age diversity firms in the over 60 category was higher than that of low age diversity firms for all years. This implies that high-diversity firms hire more employees over the age of 60. In addition, the results suggested that the average ratio of high age diversity firms in the under 30 category was higher than that of low age diversity firms from 2015 to 2017. On the other hand, firms with low age diversity had a higher ratio in the 30–39 and 40–49 categories than high age diversity firms. As such, low-diversity firms had a skewed number of employees in the 30–39 and 40–49 age categories.

Table 4.5 presents the results of a fixed effect model with ROE as the dependent variable. Model 1 includes all control variables, and each diversity variable from Models 2 to 5 was included. Model 6 represents the full model. There was no significant relationship between each diversity variable and ROE, suggesting that workforce diversity in Japan contributed to the efficiency of total assets but did not improve the profitability of corporation in relation to stockholders' equity.

Results for control variables presented in Tables 4.2 and 4.5 indicate that *risk* was positively correlated with ROA and ROE. *Size* was negatively correlated with ROA and ROE, demonstrating that larger companies have less efficient management, which is called “big company disease” in Japan. *R&D intensity* was also negatively related to ROA and ROE. Although R&D investments had a positive impact on business performance in the long term, they may contribute negatively in terms of impact on business performance one year later. Corporate *slack* was negatively correlated with ROA and ROE, suggesting that Japanese companies accumulated surplus funds instead of investing in equipment, which resulted in a decline in efficiency.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the relationship between workforce diversity and financial performance in Japan. Prior research suggested both positive and negative aspects of workforce diversity. While several empirical studies addressed workforce diversity on firm performance, empirical studies in the Japanese context are limited. This study is the first to empirically analyze the effects of different dimensions of workforce diversity and firm performance using longitudinal data from Japanese companies.

The results suggested that age diversity had a positive relationship with ROA. Japan is facing a super-aging society, and the average age of employees in companies is increasing. In addition, many Japanese companies still have an age-based wage system, and hiring employees nearing retirement creates higher expenses. Firms with high age diversity had a higher percentage of employees under 30 and over 60 years of age than those with low age diversity. The average wage for employees over 60 years of age in Japan was 7.1% lower than that for people in their 30s and 20.6% for people in their 40s (Table 4.6). These results may be linked to a higher ROA. In addition, as suggested by previous studies, the positive

Table 4.4 T-test of ratio of age categories between high age diversity and low age diversity

Variable	2014		2015		2016		2017		t value
	High age diversity		Low age diversity		High age diversity		Low age diversity		
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
Under 30	0.202	0.059	0.173	0.112	-1.121	0.065	0.159	0.094	-2.119 *
30-39	0.237	0.059	0.323	0.132	2.843 **	0.069	0.317	0.145	2.324 *
40-49	0.272	0.062	0.349	0.136	2.487 *	0.061	0.361	0.125	3.339 **
50-59	0.191	0.063	0.151	0.099	-1.638	0.071	0.157	0.100	-1.263
Over 60	0.098	0.036	0.004	0.006	-14.263 ***	0.043	0.005	0.009	-10.636 ***
Observations	22		30				31		
Variable	2016		2017		2016		2017		t value
	High age diversity		Low age diversity		High age diversity		Low age diversity		
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
Under 30	0.200	0.068	0.150	0.089	-3.080 **	0.065	0.152	0.090	-2.156 *
30-39	0.235	0.068	0.282	0.111	2.452 *	0.069	0.281	0.111	2.058 *
40-49	0.278	0.059	0.368	0.098	5.387 ***	0.047	0.357	0.093	4.711 ***
50-59	0.203	0.061	0.186	0.103	-0.983	0.057	0.204	0.110	0.042
Over 60	0.085	0.042	0.016	0.071	-5.797 ***	0.041	0.006	0.009	-13.435 ***
Observations	46		50		45		55		

(Continued)

Table 4.4 Continued

Variable	2018			2019			t value		
	High age diversity		Low age diversity	High age diversity		Low age diversity			
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.			
Under 30	0.185	0.052	0.178	0.116	0.191	0.053	0.187	0.112	-0.216
30-39	0.221	0.058	0.288	0.119	0.214	0.052	0.295	0.122	3.765
40-49	0.285	0.044	0.336	0.095	0.262	0.034	0.320	0.091	3.650
50-59	0.219	0.044	0.192	0.127	0.234	0.050	0.193	0.139	-1.657
Over 60	0.089	0.035	0.006	0.010	0.099	0.038	0.004	0.006	-15.439
Observations	49		50		37		40		

Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 4.5 Results with ROE as dependent variable

ROE	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Intercept	2.820 ***	0.878	2.934 ***	0.894	2.859 ***	0.885	3.193 **	1.232	2.843 ***	0.884	3.363 **	1.255
Risk	0.601 ***	0.169	0.595 ***	0.169	0.601 ***	0.169	0.598 ***	0.169	0.603 ***	0.170	0.595 ***	0.171
Size	-0.555 ***	0.165	-0.556 ***	0.165	-0.562 ***	0.166	-0.552 ***	0.165	-0.559 ***	0.166	-0.567 ***	0.167
R&D intensity	-0.437 ***	0.085	-0.435 ***	0.086	-0.438 ***	0.086	-0.439 ***	0.086	-0.438 ***	0.086	-0.439 ***	0.086
Slack	-0.324 *	0.159	-0.320 *	0.159	-0.325 *	0.159	-0.322 *	0.159	-0.329 *	0.160	-0.326 *	0.161
Prior ROE	-0.917 ***	0.036	-0.918 ***	0.036	-0.917 ***	0.036	-0.917 ***	0.036	-0.917 ***	0.037	-0.918 ***	0.037
Gender diversity			-0.256	0.367							-0.237	0.389
Foreign diversity					0.016	0.225	-0.454	1.051			0.049	0.249
Age diversity											-0.446	1.075
Disability diversity											0.000	0.176
Year dummies	Included		Included		Included		Included		-0.030	0.169	Included	
Observations	2081		2081		2076		2081		2069		2064	

Notes: * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$, **** $p < .001$.

Table 4.6 Average wage in Japan (2019)

<i>Age</i>	<i>Average wage (thousand yen)</i>	<i>Average wage for under 30, 30s, 40s, 50s, and over 60 (thousand yen)</i>	<i>Compare to the over 60 category (%)</i>
Under 20	179.0	211.3	127.8
20–24	210.9		
25–29	243.9		
30–34	275.9	290.6	92.9
35–39	305.3		
40–44	329.6	340.0	79.4
45–49	350.3		
50–54	373.5	370.4	72.9
55–59	367.2		
Over 60	269.9	269.9	–

Data: The Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training (2020)
<https://www.jil.go.jp/kokunai/statistics/timeseries/html/g0405.html>

effect of age diversity on firm performance could result from having access to a diverse set of knowledge and skills that enhance individual and organizational performance.

This study contributed to research on D&I in several ways. First, it used a fixed effect model to show the relationship between diversity and financial performance in Japan, while prior research used data from the United States and Europe. Second, the analysis was conducted using four indices of workforce diversity, while existing studies generally focused on one of the indices. By using different indexes, this study clarified which index of diversity was related to financial performance. As a practical contribution, this study showed companies the benefits from hiring employees of diverse ages. In particular, companies with age-based wage systems, such as those in Japan, may increase the cost of hiring employees of various ages while benefiting from having access to a diverse pool of knowledge and skills.

However, no significant relationships were revealed between other workforce diversity indices and financial performance. This may be related to the characteristics of Japan. Turban et al. (2019) found that companies in Japan did not benefit from gender diversity due to the strictly patriarchal work culture and that gender diversity related to high productivity only in contexts where it was considered important. Furthermore, people with disabilities were subject to this kind of bias, resulting in employers' prejudices and underappreciation of people with disabilities (Bonaccio et al., 2020). Employers believed that people with disabilities performed less compared to nondisabled employees and were missing opportunities to use their skills and leverage the value of employees with disabilities, ultimately damaging organizational performance. Aichner (2021) stated, "If the right people with disabilities are selected for the right job and are given responsibility, they often outperform other employees, with higher levels of efficiency,

productivity, accuracy, commitment, loyalty, and satisfaction” (p. 2). Japanese companies must go beyond compliance when employing people with disabilities. It would be beneficial for companies to utilize this underutilized workforce through organizational practices that are inclusive to all employees and unbiased toward employees with disabilities.

This study had some limitations. First, there was a sample selection bias. Data from the Toyo Keizai were used to create the diversity index; however, as these data were based on a questionnaire of companies, it is possible that only companies that promote diversity provided the data. To address this issue, different analysis methods are required in the future. Second, there may be a time lag in the impact of workforce diversity index on financial performance. To address this issue, an analysis with a lag of several years between the dependent and independent variables should be conducted. Third, the causality between workforce diversity and firm performance must be considered. This chapter concluded that workforce diversity based on age leads to superior financial performance. However, a reverse causality, in which companies with good financial performance attract employees of various ages, may be possible. Therefore, future research should use other analytical methods, such as instrumental variables or propensity score matching, to clarify this causal relationship.

Corporate D&I initiatives in Japan are still developing. These findings on the insignificant effect of gender diversity, foreign diversity, and disability diversity may suggest that despite diversity being affordable, Japanese companies are missing important opportunities that a diverse workforce can offer. Employing a diverse workforce is not adequate for generating value for companies. Creating a work environment where all employees can thrive by adopting inclusive organizational practices designed to create a positive work experience and leverage the potential of all employees regardless of age, gender, nationality, and diversity is key to enhancing the performance of Japanese companies and revitalizing the Japanese economy. Further research on diversity and performance is required in light of future corporate trends and inclusive organizational practices.

Acknowledgment

This research was supported by grants from the Private University Research Branding Project (Type B: Global Development Category) of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology and the Center for Inclusive Leadership in Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (<https://en.apu.ac.jp/cil/>).

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5 Conforming while being distinct

The impact of social identity on perceived inclusion and business opportunity identification of Vietnamese entrepreneurs in Japan

Thi Huong Tang and Lailani L. Alcantara

Introduction

Following the rise of global migration, immigrant entrepreneurship has become a phenomenon of great interest for policymakers and researchers. Immigrant entrepreneurship contributes to economic revitalization in many countries, as studies show that immigrants have a higher tendency to start new ventures compared to natives (Dabić et al., 2020). In the United States, 25% of new businesses are created by first-generation immigrants, while in some states, such as California and New York, this percentage is over 40% (Kerr & Kerr, 2020). Immigrants contribute to the societies' economies and add to the diversity of entrepreneurship at the national and global levels. They demonstrate different entrepreneurial aspirations and establish venture types that are new to native entrepreneurship. Their unique transnational networks, such as ethnic ties between countries, create new business opportunities across borders and support the global economy. Moreover, diversity in the origins, backgrounds, and characteristics of immigrant entrepreneurs produce endless possibilities for unprecedented business venture creation.

Studies on immigrant entrepreneurship have burgeoned over the last few decades (Dabić et al., 2020; Dheer, 2018). As this socioeconomic phenomenon grew in complexity, immigrant entrepreneurship literature has also evolved. In earlier studies, immigrant entrepreneurs were typically depicted as necessity entrepreneurs, who start ethnically oriented businesses as a survival strategy in the host country. However, recent studies describe immigrant entrepreneurs as proactive actors who identify and take advantage of entrepreneurial opportunities (Dheer, 2018; Lundberg & Rehnfors, 2018). Their businesses are no longer restricted to the ethnic market but “break out” to the mainstream market.

Despite a large body of research seeking to understand the antecedents or influencing factors of immigrant entrepreneurship, a process-oriented view remains absent in examining how immigrant entrepreneurs identify and exploit business opportunities. This is a critical gap, as it is important to understand the antecedents and their influence or moderating effects on the whole process. While these processes, that is, opportunity identification and exploitation, have

been conceptualized and explained by various frameworks in the mainstream (native) entrepreneurship literature, discussion of immigrant entrepreneurship remains fragmented. It would be problematic to simply apply established frameworks from mainstream entrepreneurship literature to explain immigrants' entrepreneurial processes. Due to immigrants' different entrepreneurial perceptions and behaviors, their entrepreneurial processes differ from native entrepreneurs (Bolívar-Cruz et al., 2014; Vinogradov & Jørgensen, 2017).

Another important but underexplored issue is the role of social identity in the entrepreneurial processes of immigrants. This is surprising because social identity, specifically sociocultural identity, is particularly relevant to migration studies, as immigrants live and operate businesses in cross-cultural settings. Immigrants' sociocultural identities are formed by the initial influence of their ethnic society, and later modified under the influence of the host society's culture (Dheer & Lenartowicz, 2018). These two dimensions of sociocultural identity are closely related to two elements of an immigrant's perceived inclusion in the host society: their unique values (attached to ethnic ties) and their feeling of belonging to the host society. Immigrants' sociocultural identities and perceived inclusion influence career choice and entrepreneurial processes (Dheer & Lenartowicz, 2018; Sam & Berry, 2010). These aspects help explain the variation in how immigrant entrepreneurs recognize and exploit business opportunities, utilize different kinds of resources, and make strategic business decisions. Therefore, examining the impact of sociocultural identity and perceived inclusion deepens the understanding of entrepreneurial processes and provides practical implications for practitioners and policymakers, as it offers a different perspective for understanding immigrant entrepreneurship apart from visible demographic factors.

This study sought to examine the opportunity identification process by immigrant entrepreneurs and the role that social identity plays in this process through the lived experiences of Vietnamese entrepreneurs in Japan. This study employed a qualitative approach using interview data from 12 Vietnamese entrepreneurs in Japan.

This chapter discussed the conceptual foundations of immigrant entrepreneurship and social identity relevant to this study. It introduced Vietnamese entrepreneurs in Japan and their characteristics. Following this, the chapter presents the research methods and findings, including a proposed model of the opportunity identification process by immigrants, and discusses how social identity influences that process.

Immigrant entrepreneurship, social identity, and inclusion

Immigrant entrepreneurship

Immigrant entrepreneurship is “the process whereby immigrants identify, create and exploit economic opportunities to start new ventures in their destination nations” (Dheer, 2018, p. 558). This important socioeconomic phenomenon has gained significant attention from policymakers and scholars in various domains,

including sociology, economics, and entrepreneurship (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013; Dheer, 2018). Research on immigrant entrepreneurship started mainly among sociologists studying immigrant employment in the 1960s (Dabić et al., 2020). Most early studies viewed immigrant entrepreneurs as necessity entrepreneurs, who were involved in entrepreneurship to “survive” economically in the host country (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013; Nazareno et al., 2019). Immigrant entrepreneurs were considered ethnic entrepreneurs who owned small shops serving an ethnic economy. Their disadvantageous position, resulting from a lack of the host country’s language ability and knowledge, prevented them from finding employment and forced them to start their own ventures (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013; Lundberg & Rehnfors, 2018). Since the 2000s, scholars began to focus on opportunity entrepreneurs (also referred to as opportunity-based entrepreneurs), who voluntarily chose to become entrepreneurs as a response to opportunities (Achidi Ndofor & Priem, 2011; Nazareno et al., 2019). Dheer (2018, p. 556) defined opportunity immigrant entrepreneurs as entrepreneurs “who start high-growth ventures by identifying, creating, and exploiting opportunities that are otherwise invisible or non-viable for native-born individuals.”

Immigrant entrepreneurship plays an important role in revitalizing the economy of a receiving country. Statistics show that immigrants are highly entrepreneurial. Studies in popular migration destinations, such as the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia, have consistently shown that foreign-born individuals are more likely to self-employ than natives (Fairlie & Lofstrom, 2015; Kerr & Kerr, 2016). In 2016, the New American Economy reported that immigrant-owned businesses generated USD 65.5 billion as of 2014 and created millions of jobs in the United States. Furthermore, 40% of Fortune 500 firms in 2016 had at least one founder who was either a first-or second-generation immigrant. Immigrant entrepreneurship arguably makes impactful contributions not only to the host country but also to the global economy.

Immigrants contribute to the diversity of entrepreneurship. On the supply side, it is noticeable that immigrant businesses made significant contributions to the diversity of products and services industries in host countries (Fairlie & Lofstrom, 2015). On the demand side, they created new markets for business, such as ethnic enclaves, which were absent from the native entrepreneurship scene. Immigrants possess unique resources that they leverage to carve out unprecedented types of ventures, such as Chinese high-skilled immigrants in the United States utilizing their ethnic ties and industry experience to create new transnational opportunities for themselves in high-tech (Nazareno et al., 2019).

Such dynamic evolution and the significant impact of immigrant entrepreneurship have attracted the attention of researchers. Along with the growing recognition of opportunity-based immigrant entrepreneurs, more studies have focused on the opportunity aspect of immigrant entrepreneurship, including discussions about opportunity structures (Rath & Kloosterman, 2010) and opportunity types pertaining to immigrants (Dheer & Lenartowicz, 2018; Vandor & Franke, 2016). However, a review of immigrant entrepreneurship literature suggests several important but unexplored opportunity-related issues, such as the process

underlying opportunity identification by immigrants. The opportunity identification process is the process through which ideas for potentially profitable new business ventures are identified by specific people (Kirzner, 1997). Although studies have found a variety of personal and contextual factors that facilitate or limit immigrants' venture opportunities, they tend to consider opportunity identification as a single action or outcome without examining it as a process. In mainstream entrepreneurship, the process-oriented view has been applied in studies, yielding valuable insights into the reasons and mechanisms underlying entrepreneurs' tendencies and decisions to establish new ventures. Therefore, examining immigrant entrepreneurship with a process-oriented view should reveal immigrants' motivation and decision-making processes.

Social identity

Another underexamined issue in the extant literature on immigrant entrepreneurship is the role of social identity in entrepreneurial stages, including the opportunity identification process. As suggested in mainstream entrepreneurship literature, entrepreneurs' identities influence the processes of opportunity recognition, evaluation, and exploitation (Mathias & Williams, 2017). Social identity has been used to explain opportunity identification in the subcategories of entrepreneurship, including social entrepreneurship (Pan et al., 2019) and women's entrepreneurship (Wang, 2019). In studies on immigrant entrepreneurship, the impact of social identity is implied in discussions about immigrants' ethnic ties and social capital use; however, it has not been explicitly assessed to date. This is a significant gap, as social identity is a key theme in migration studies, and previous research has suggested its impact on immigrants' perceptions and behavior.

Dheer (2018) called for further research to examine the role of sociocultural identity in immigrant entrepreneurial processes. Sociocultural identity refers to how a person conceives and perceives themselves regarding their social group with a distinct culture (Warren et al., 2016). While being part of the broader concept of social identity, sociocultural identity focuses on the cultural dimension. Culture is particularly relevant to immigrant research, as immigrants live and operate in cross-cultural settings (Abd Hamid et al., 2019). Their sociocultural identities are dynamically shaped by contact and interaction with multiple cultures (i.e., host and home cultures). It is nonstatic and changes over time.

Nonetheless, studies on immigrant entrepreneurship tend to view immigrants from the same ethnic group or national origin as a homogeneous group (Dheer, 2018). This is problematic, as sociocultural identities vary among individuals, even those from the same ethnic group or national origin. This can be explained by integration, a process in which migrants combine two cultural systems, that is, home and host cultures (Boski, 2008). Even when host and home countries are the same, each individual's integration process is unique, resulting in different sociocultural identities among people from the same ethnic group or nation of origin. Varied levels of integration and social identity, in turn, affect how immigrants identify and exploit business opportunities. Achidi Ndofor and Priem (2011)

argued that immigrants' social identities affect their source of social capital (i.e., ethnic network or host society) and determine their venture strategies (i.e., enclave or mainstream market). Essers and Benschop (2007, p. 66) found that Turkish women entrepreneurs in the Netherlands "take the best out of both cultures" and maneuver multiple identities to "sustain their enterprises." Abd Hamid et al. (2019) suggested that Indonesian, Pakistani, and South Korean ethnic entrepreneurs in Malaysia engaged in identity work across cultures to gain legitimacy.

Inclusion

Inclusion is often defined as a function of uniqueness and belonging (Shore et al., 2011). An individual feels included in a group when they perceive their uniqueness as valued and themselves as a member of the group. Immigrant entrepreneurs feel included in a community or society when they perceive that their uniqueness from their ethnic backgrounds or communities are valued, and they feel belonging to the host community or society. How immigrants perceive their uniqueness (typically from ethnic ties) and sense of belongingness to the host country is influenced by the way they identify with home and host cultures, or their sociocultural identities. Thus, an immigrant's sociocultural identity has implications for their perceived inclusion in the host country.

Research context: Vietnamese entrepreneurs in Japan

Due to macro-institutional changes, such as human resources and bilateral trade agreements between Japan and Vietnam, particularly after President Shinzo Abe became Japan's prime minister in 2012, the population of Vietnamese residents in Japan steadily increased. Between 2015 and 2019, the growth of Vietnamese people in Japan was between 5.2% and 7.5% (Immigration Services Agency of Japan, 2020a). Over the past decade, with a population of 410,000, Vietnamese people have surpassed other ethnic groups (Brazilians and Filipinos) to become the third largest group of foreigner residents in Japan (Asahi Shimbun, 2020), after the Chinese (over 810,000 people) and South Korean communities (over 440,000 people) (Figure 5.1).

While the majority of Vietnamese people coming into Japan were on technical trainee visas, a considerable number arrived with student visas and an increasing number with high-skilled labor visas. This surge created new market and business opportunities, increasing the number of new Vietnamese-owned businesses in Japan.

In recent years, entrepreneurship gained popularity among young Vietnamese people in Japan, resulting in the establishment of entrepreneurial groups, such as the Vietnamese start-up community in Japan (VSCJ), and contests, such as the Viet Start-up Contest in Japan (2019), which attracted young Vietnamese people interested in starting up or already owning businesses in Japan. The number of Vietnamese entrepreneurs in Japan is best estimated by the number of Vietnamese people staying in Japan on business manager (*keiei-kanri*) visas. As of June 2020,

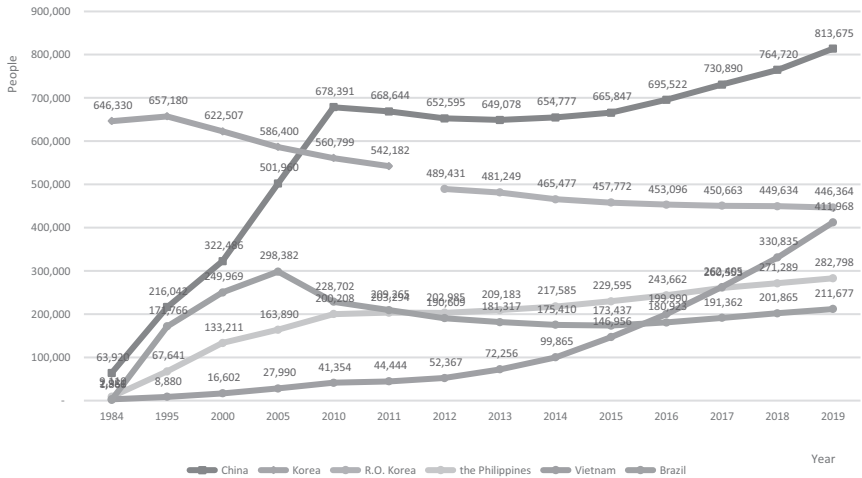


Figure 5.1 Changes in the number of foreign residents in Japan by major nationality/region (Source: Immigration Services Agency of Japan, 2020)

a total of 553 Vietnamese residents were registered as business managers in Japan (Immigration Services Agency of Japan, 2020b). However, this number fails to include entrepreneurs who are permanent residents, naturalized immigrants, or on other visa statuses that grant them long-term stay in Japan.

According to Vietnamese community leaders in Japan, popular businesses that Vietnamese people engage in include Vietnamese restaurants, trading, human resources, and dispatch services. Compared to two other major ethnic groups of immigrants (Chinese and Korean), Vietnam has a short history of migration to Japan. Therefore, Vietnamese business owners tend to be first-generation immigrants. As such, the Vietnamese community offers an opportunity to study first-generation entrepreneurs in Japan.

Methods

This study adopted a qualitative approach to explore the opportunity identification process of immigrant entrepreneurs. Given that there have been very limited models and frameworks to explain this process, this method enables an in-depth exploration and holistic understanding of the process (Corbin & Strauss, 2014).

Data collection

The primary data source for this study was semi-structured interviews with 12 Vietnamese entrepreneurs in Japan, which took place between May and September 2020. Participants were selected using snowball sampling. The sample included

Table 5.1 Profiles of interviewees

No.	Location/Area	Age	Gender	Type of business
1	Kyushu	20s	F	Vietnamese restaurant, translation services
2	Kanto	20s	M	HR services
3	Kyushu	30s	F	Marketing content production
4	Kanto	30s	F	Architectural design service
5	Kanto	30s	F	HR services, consulting
6	Kanto	40s	M	HR services, consulting
7	Kanto	30s	M	Trading
8	Kyushu	20s	M	Trading, translation services
9	Kanto	30s	F	Medical services
10	Kansai	30s	F	Vietnamese restaurant
11	Kanto	30s	M	Trading
12	Kanto	30s	F	Trading

entrepreneurs who had previous working experience in Japanese companies or who had received full-time job offers from Japanese companies. Participants possess sufficient skills and knowledge that would grant them employment opportunities in Japan but choose to enter entrepreneurship as a response to business opportunities.

The profiles of the participants and their businesses are summarized in Table 5.1. They were located in different parts of Japan and included a variety of businesses, such as restaurants, human resources, and dispatch services, trading, marketing, and 3D design. Companies had fewer than ten full-time workers. All participants were first-generation immigrants to Japan and had good Japanese command, equivalent to the Japanese Language Proficiency Test Level N2 or above. Except for two participants who had less than six months of working experience as full-time employees in a Japanese company, others had at least two years of working experience in Japanese companies in Japan. Two participants had Japanese spouses, and one had acquired Japanese nationality.

Data analysis

This study used a thematic coding analysis method to identify and analyze themes that emerged from interview data. Thematic coding allows the analysis to be “sensitive and open to the contexts and backgrounds” of the participants (Flick, 2009). Data analysis was conducted in a four-step process, similar to that adopted by Evansluong et al. (2019) in their exploratory research on the process of immigrant engagement in the opportunity creation process through the lived experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs in Sweden.

Step one: Interview transcripts and survey data were organized into a case narrative. For instance, the participants talked about how they moved to Japan, what kind of jobs they did and what they learned from their corporate jobs, and who they socialized with. This outlined their entrepreneurial journeys.



Figure 5.2 Opportunity identification and development by Vietnamese entrepreneurs in Japan

Step two: Open coding (first-order codes). Interview transcripts were analyzed sentence by sentence several times to identify themes of actions, thoughts, feelings, or incidents that were related to the development of entrepreneurial ideas and processes.

Step three: Selective coding (second-order codes). In this step, patterns that were identified in step two were grouped into broader categories to generate thematic domains at a more abstract level (Corbin & Strauss, 2014).

Step four: Identified themes were constantly related and compared to relevant literature and frameworks to unfold the process of how immigrants identified and developed business opportunities as well as their correlation with the immigrants' sociocultural identities and perceived inclusion. By combining previous frameworks on the opportunity identification process with new findings of immigrant entrepreneurs, this analysis led to a multi-stage model of the opportunity identification process.

The analysis process identified emerging themes and patterns and incorporated previous frameworks on opportunity identification, leading to a framework of the opportunity identification process of Vietnamese immigrants. This process consisted of five stages: spark/trigger, market needs and resources evaluation, business model formulation, business model refinement, and venture creation (Figure 5.2). The findings suggested that Vietnamese immigrant entrepreneurs' social identities influenced opportunity identification at different stages.

Framework for the opportunity identification process of immigrant entrepreneurs

Interview data showed that Vietnamese entrepreneurs engaged in the process of not only identifying but also developing entrepreneurial opportunities.

Spark/Trigger

Spark refers to "the moment of insight when the idea surfaced for a possible new way to create value" (Corner & Ho, 2010, p. 653), while trigger is an incident or triggering event (social, personal, or psychological factor) that inspires or leads to the idea of entrepreneurship. At the spark/trigger stage, the venture idea is still "blurred and incomplete" (Evansluong et al., 2019, p. 883) and has not yet

been fully formed. However, this is the turning point that can lead to later steps in the opportunity identification or development process. For Mr. M., who ran an HR business, the moment of realization (spark) happened during a conversation between him and one of his clients about labor shortage in the client's company: "One day, I was talking with a client, a factory manager, and he asked me, 'If we want to recruit 200 people, can you help with that?' The number was so big that I was shocked!"

Market needs and resources evaluation

After new venture ideas were vaguely formed in the first phase, entrepreneurs engaged in the next step of evaluating market needs. Some entrepreneurs utilized formal data, such as industry data or government's reports. Ms. T. stated: "When I was working for company A. (global consulting firm), I could read their data and market analysis reports, and I found that there was a lot (of potential) in Japan for Vietnamese companies to grow." Others took a more casual and intuitive approach, such as Ms. H., who stated:

In this city, all Vietnamese restaurants are owned and run by Japanese people ... they cannot keep the traditional flavors, the traditional ways of doing things. So, I really wanted to stand up, to start an authentic Vietnamese restaurant that kept real Vietnamese flavor [...] I was asking Vietnamese people living in the same city ... That gave me confidence to pursue (the idea).

Vietnamese entrepreneurs reviewed their resources (capital) to determine opportunities for a match between available resources and market potential. They evaluated different types of capital, including human capital, such as availability of cofounders or partners, and social capital, such as social networks with potential suppliers and clients.

Business model formation

After evaluating the market demands and necessary resources and capital, the opportunity unfolded further at a stage in which business models were developed. Here, the business model refers to the general mechanism to generate profit. A business model represents the match between particular market needs and particular resources, which Ardichvili et al. (2003) called value the "creation process."

Ms. M. outlined a structure in which second-hand cars in Japan could be exported and shipped to buyers from different parts of the world through an online platform. Mr. H. crafted a model connecting the supply of IT human resources from Vietnam and IT job vacancies in Japan. Ms. Th. and her cofounders spent serious hours drafting a business plan and outlining their business strategy and expected profits.

Refinement of business model

Some participants shared that after some market testing or reanalyzing market needs and capital, they modified or adjusted their business models and/or plans. Ms. Th., who created a well-researched business plan described above, tested the initial plan and decided to reorient the business:

When we created that business plan, we thought that we would only go for the high-skilled human resources in the IT industry, robotics, or data analytics. [...] However, in the process of building the CCMT plan, we realized that there were many obstacles. [...] Due to these obstacles, when we did our analysis, we found new opportunities. So, we made some changes.

Venture creation

This was the action phase of the entire process. There was a common pattern among participants regarding the timing of their decision to exploit the opportunity (start the venture). This was the point when they procured the key resources for the business model. For Ms. H., the restaurant's location was a key resource in setting up her business. Therefore, as soon as she found a suitable place, she executed her business plan. For Ms. L., one of the key resources was an efficient online trading platform. She started setting up the company when she found a reliable and competent IT engineer.

Except for two entrepreneurs who held spousal visas and one naturalized immigrant, most Vietnamese entrepreneurs in this study required business manager visas to stay in Japan and launch and run their companies. For these entrepreneurs, venture creation meant starting a business or registering a company (as in the case of native entrepreneurs) and the visa application process. Failure to obtain business manager visas could lead to the end of the business, as the entrepreneur would not be able to stay in Japan to manage it. This made opportunity identification and exploitation of immigrants different from native counterparts, making venture creating part of the opportunity development process. Although most participants stated that the visa application process did not present problems, the process was more challenging for younger and inexperienced novice entrepreneurs. Mr. C., who decided to start a business only half a year after graduating from college, shared his experience of grappling with the visa application process:

Oh, that took me a lot of time. I did not expect it to take that much. And I got questioned by the Immigration Bureau about where I got the money (required capital of 5 million yen) ... They asked me to submit more documents to prove what I said. I never knew it was going to be that complicated ... I could not do much during the first three months of the business because of that visa application process.

Leveraging identities: conforming while being distinct

While revealing insights about the opportunity identification process by immigrants, this study added to our understanding of the role of social identity in this process. This confirmed the diversity of sociocultural identities among immigrants in the same ethnic community or from the same country of origin. In addition, it suggested that such variation in sociocultural identities influenced immigrants' intentions and behaviors at different stages of the opportunity identification process.

Diversity in sociocultural identities

Although all 12 participants were immigrants from Vietnam, they differed in their levels of identification with Japanese and Vietnamese cultures. Some demonstrated a stronger connection with and reliance on Vietnamese ethnic ties. Mr. Tu., who ran a trading business between Vietnam and Japan, said that although he was comfortable with his life in Japan, he perceived himself as Vietnamese and did not see the need to socialize more with Japanese people. On the other hand, some entrepreneurs showed a higher level of integration with Japanese society in both personal life and business. For instance, Mr. H. had lived in Japan for over 25 years and received bachelor's and master's degrees from two Japanese universities. He had excellent Japanese proficiency and years of experience working with Japanese people. More interestingly, for several participants, their sociocultural identity was a mix of not only two cultures (Japanese and Vietnamese) but also multicultural elements, such as exposure to cultures other than Japanese and Vietnamese. They perceived themselves as "global citizens" and related themselves to other cultures beyond those of the host and home countries.

However, Vietnamese entrepreneurs not only were influenced by their sociocultural identity but actively constructed and strategically leveraged it to find opportunities and gain access to relevant resources. This leverage involved navigating between conforming to the host society's rules and norms while maintaining the distinctiveness of being Vietnamese or having multicultural competency.

Identity conformance

With inherent foreign identity, immigrants face challenges in acquiring resources and opportunities in the host economy. To overcome these challenges, immigrant entrepreneurs are "required to conform to the host country's rules and normative expectations" of business owners (Abd Hamid et al., 2019, p. 920). This involves not only a good understanding of the host country's regulatory conditions, social norms, and expectations, but also the ability to adhere to these rules and norms. In cross-cultural contexts, such knowledge and ability were closely linked with immigrants' host country language proficiency, host country knowledge, and host society networks. In general, Vietnamese entrepreneurs in this study demonstrated good Japanese language ability, with Japanese language proficiency levels

equivalent to JLPT N2 or higher. They had a good understanding of Japanese culture and experience interacting with Japan's business environment and daily life. At the time they encountered the "spark" or "trigger," all participants had been living in Japan for at least four years. Despite the variation in the levels of cultural integration, the Vietnamese entrepreneurs generally felt "included" in the Japanese society and considered Japan a good place to settle down. Ms. A. shared, "I myself feel that Japan is very familiar, very close to myself, and I also like the country very much [...] It's like my second home." Mr. B. commented, "I feel comfortable in Japan. I have my friends here, good friends here. Japan is my home away from home."

As identity conformance involves complying with the host country's rules and norms, it is displayed by adhering to regulatory requirements by formal institutions, such as the government, or meeting society's expectations of a business owner or a foreigner. All participants had businesses registered properly according to Japan's laws. Mr. Tu. commented: "I know many Vietnamese in Japan; they do business without even registering. However, I do not need to be like that. I register and pay taxes properly." Some interviewees voluntarily participated in business networks, such as *kumi-ai* (unions or associations), as typical Japanese companies tend to do. Ms. P, who ran a Vietnamese restaurant and a multilingual translation service, served as the president of a local *kumi-ai* of translation companies.

Identity distinctiveness (being unique from the host society)

While possessing high levels of integration into Japanese society, Vietnamese entrepreneurs remained embedded in their home culture and the Vietnamese community in Japan. The "sense of belongingness within their home country community in the host country" is called identity distinctiveness (Abd Hamid et al., 2019, p. 928). Classical theories about immigrant entrepreneurship, such as disadvantage theories and the middlemen concept, emphasized the reliance on identity distinctiveness in opportunity identification and exploitation, as immigrants tend to possess limited knowledge about the host country.

This study revealed that Vietnamese entrepreneurs who felt included were aware of their differences from Japanese society and people. They considered distinctiveness as an advantage because it compensated for their lack of host country knowledge, enabling them to generate fresh business ideas and obtain exclusive access to ethnic community-based resources and markets.

Participants generally agreed that being Vietnamese gave them unique logic perspectives to recognize and evaluate opportunities that were unavailable to native entrepreneurs. For instance, Ms. A explained how being Vietnamese helped her realize a potential business chance:

At that time, I saw being Vietnamese as a strength. [...] I was doing 3D outsourcing. At the time, the demand from Japan was quite high. When I was working for a Japanese company, I realized that in Japan, they did it (3D

drawing) very slowly, while Vietnamese companies did it very fast with good quality. So, I thought if I started a 3D outsourcing service, I could receive orders here (in Japan), outsource to teams in Vietnam, and provide the products to vendors here (in Japan).

In addition, identity distinctiveness was revealed by receiving support from countrymen networks. When entrepreneur Mr. C., a high-end cosmetics dealer in Kyushu, faced administrative challenges in visa application and business setup procedures, he turned to friends in the local Vietnamese network for help:

It was so fortunate for me that I had (Vietnamese) brothers and sisters around who supported me. Like, there are people who showed me where to rent an office, what I should do, people who helped me do paperwork and give explanations. Of course, I did have Japanese (command) and knowledge, but actually I did not have at all, you understand? For example, people who only run a small shop or sell cell phones, but they have very deep knowledge in the field of entrepreneurship. [...] In general, I relied on the experience of those who had done it before.

The use of ethnic ties to build and enhance relevant resources for businesses is common among immigrants at disadvantaged positions due to a lack of language proficiency and knowledge about the host country (Abd Hamid et al., 2019; Dheer & Lenartowicz, 2018). However, this study showed the same trend for immigrants with high levels of host country language ability and understanding of the host society's culture and market. Mr. H, who had been living in Japan for 28 years, earned bachelor's and master's degrees from Japanese universities, and worked in Japanese companies for a long time. Despite having exceptional command of the Japanese language and a deep understanding of Japanese culture, when he first thought about his business ideas, he consulted with Vietnamese friends whom he knew since college days.

I talked with my friends ... Vietnamese friends, who also came to Japan to study like me. Many of them already moved back to Vietnam now, so they know more about what is happening in Vietnam. I can talk to them to understand (the supply side of my business).

Identity distinctiveness and opportunity identification process

Identity distinctiveness with home culture emerged as an important factor shaping how immigrant entrepreneurs encounter their venture ideas, type of venture business, and the way entrepreneurs evaluate market needs and resources.

This study divided the ventures of Vietnamese entrepreneurs into two groups based on their nature of business: industry-based and Vietnamese community-based businesses. Entrepreneurs of industry-based businesses recognized opportunities during interaction with industry-specific actors or forces, such as emerging

demand or perceived potential markets. Ventures in this group differed from those in the second group in the sense that the nature of business was not necessarily Vietnamese-related. Ms. P.'s video content production business falls into this group because, except for her being Vietnamese, all business attributes, including clientele, human resources, and strategy, did not have any significant Vietnamese connections. This study indicated that entrepreneurs who started industry-based businesses had industry-specific experience, knowledge, and skills. Prior experience and entrepreneurial intention were the most important factors that determined the type and nature of the business.

The second group included businesses with strong Vietnamese characteristics or heavily reliant on the Vietnamese market (either supply or demand side). Typical businesses in this group included Vietnamese restaurants, trading businesses between Vietnam and Japan, and Vietnamese–Japanese translation services. Interestingly, business owners in this group did not have the industry-specific experience or skills found among Vietnamese entrepreneurs with industry-based businesses. The source of their business ideas and benchmarks for evaluating entrepreneurial opportunities tended to come from the Vietnamese community in Japan or the home country market. When Ms. H. had the idea of starting a Vietnamese restaurant in Kyoto, she had no prior experience in the food service industry. She realized that there were no Vietnamese restaurants in the city that were up to real Vietnamese standards and reached out to Vietnamese friends to validate her observations. This finding suggested that in the absence of prior industry experience or professional knowledge, identity distinctiveness was activated, facilitating the opportunity identification process of immigrants.

Multicultural identity: beyond the context of home and host cultures

This study found that multicultural experience can contribute to variations in sociocultural identity, as some entrepreneurs had multicultural experiences while others did not. For instance, Ms. Th. went to an international college in Japan, had two years of working experience in Singapore, was engaged to a Bangladeshi person, and had many friends from different countries in the world. Her cultural experience went beyond the context of the home country (Vietnam) and the host country (Japan). Such multicultural experiences shaped the way entrepreneurs identified market needs and relevant resources. Ms. Th. set no limit to the destination of her consulting business and confidently stated that her company could take on opportunities outside of Vietnam and Japan. Similarly, Mr. B., who had diverse circles of friends from countries other than Vietnam and Japan, viewed the whole world as a potential market rather than only Vietnam and Japan. These entrepreneurs demonstrated the characteristics and potential of becoming transnational entrepreneurs.

Conclusion

This chapter highlighted that immigrant entrepreneurs make economic contributions to local and global economies and add significant diversity to

entrepreneurship. This study documented the process underlying the opportunity identification and exploitation of Vietnamese immigrant entrepreneurs in Japan. This was the first attempt to elucidate the dynamic processes of opportunity identification and exploitation through the lived experiences of Vietnamese immigrant entrepreneurs, who belonged to the minority group in Japan. Using a qualitative approach, this study contributed to the understanding of immigrant entrepreneurship and inclusion in Japan in several ways.

First, unlike the conventional view that entrepreneurial process is linear in the order of opportunity identification, evaluation, and exploitation (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000), this study revealed that immigrant entrepreneurship is a dynamic, evolving process in which opportunities are not full-fledged chances, “waiting to be discovered” (Alvarez & Barney, 2007), but rather develop organically through the entrepreneur’s active participation in the process and interaction with others, including from the home, host, and other foreign countries. This supports the effectuation process proposed by Sarasvathy (2001) and Corner and Ho (2010), suggesting that entrepreneurs do not start with a solid business idea but continuously react to and create opportunities. This study revealed that the process of identifying opportunities among Vietnamese entrepreneurs was effectuation rather than a linear, step-by-step process. For instance, at the venture creation stage, which is usually seen as the final step of “opportunity exploitation” in the general entrepreneurship literature, the opportunity development process continued due to visa application issues and challenges distinct to immigrant entrepreneurship.

Second, this study confirmed the role of sociocultural identity in this process. Although Vietnamese entrepreneurs came from the same country of origin, they had different sociocultural identities. Specifically, the manner in which they related to host and home cultures differed. For some, sociocultural identity was not a mix of two cultures (host and home countries) but included multicultural elements from third culture(s) other than Japanese and Vietnamese. This variation affected how entrepreneurial opportunities were identified. Entrepreneurs who had multicultural experience and identified themselves with more than two cultures (Vietnamese and Japanese) had a broader range in which they identified and developed opportunities. They utilized their knowledge of multiple cultures, multicultural experiences, and global connections to evaluate market demand, relevant resources, and frame strategies beyond the scope of Vietnam and Japan. For instance, although Mr. M. and Ms. Th. saw advantages in Vietnam and Japan markets, they did not limit their options to these two countries, but considered other countries as potential markets as well. Ms. P., who cofounded her company with a Thai partner, did not restrict her choice of start-up partner (human capital) to co-ethnic Vietnamese or Japanese people. These findings call for a multicultural approach to immigrant entrepreneurship, suggesting that an assumption on the sociocultural identity of immigrant entrepreneurs as composed of home and host country cultures narrows our understanding of the dynamics involved in the entrepreneurship process experienced by immigrants.

Third, this study revealed that Vietnamese entrepreneurs who felt included in Japanese society were strongly aware of their distinctiveness as Vietnamese.

They leveraged their Vietnamese identities to identify opportunities and exploit resources for business, which substituted for their lack of industry experience. Their embeddedness in Japanese society and strong ethnic ties enabled them to obtain a unique sense of market needs and opportunities and provided access to market knowledge and resources that other Vietnamese entrepreneurs gained through industry experience. This was in line with the optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991), which argued that individuals have two fundamental needs: the need for inclusion and the need for uniqueness. These findings indicated that Vietnamese entrepreneurs did not simply conform to the cultural and legal norms in Japan to be included but also actively engaged in identity work to strategically gain access to relevant resources. They purposely sought a balance between identity conformance and identity distinctiveness as a strategy to enhance business legitimacy and viability. This implied that Vietnamese entrepreneurs were not simply influenced by their social identities but rather continuously reconstructed their social identities as they interact with their environment and people from Vietnamese and Japanese communities.

The results of this study have some implications for policy. Understanding the entire process behind immigrant entrepreneurs' identification and exploitation of venture opportunities and the factors that influence each stage of the process should help policymakers implement suitable measures to foster and support immigrant entrepreneurs through different stages. Due to the rising diversity of immigrants in Japan, programs and initiatives that are tailored to suit different groups of immigrants, rather than "one size fits all" policies, are crucial. Measures to support immigrant entrepreneurship in Japan should include general programs that can help immigrants understand the cultural and legal contexts of doing business in Japan and develop a sense of inclusion as well as targeted programs that can address specific challenges confronting each immigrant group. General and targeted programs can be designed at different phases of the opportunity identification and development process of immigrant entrepreneurs. For instance, creating a platform for socializing can help ignite *sparks*, while providing consultations can facilitate the *venture creation* phase.

To promote immigrant entrepreneurship in Japan, further research on the general and specific opportunities and challenges confronting various immigrant groups at different stages of the entrepreneurial cycle is crucial. This study focused on Vietnamese entrepreneurs during the first-stage opportunity identification and exploitation. Future research should investigate how other immigrant groups, including groups from Asia, North America, Europe, and other regions, develop a sense of inclusion and social identities to thrive as entrepreneurs in Japan.

Acknowledgment

This research was supported by grants from the Private University Research Branding Project (Type B: Global Development Category) of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology and the Center for Inclusive Leadership in Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (<https://en.apu.ac.jp/cil/>).

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6 Diversity, inclusion, and disability in Japan

The usefulness of reasonable accommodation

Nagase Osamu

Introduction

“When have I ever refused an accommodation?”

—Don Corleone¹

When we organized the first annual academic meeting of the Japan Society for Disability Studies (JSDS) in 2004, we offered reasonable accommodation for participants with disabilities. We had already decided to provide sign language interpretation and captioning. We also provided assistants for blind people who needed guidance from the nearest station to the meeting venue at the University of Shizuoka.

Ishikawa Jun, inaugural president of the JSDS and later vice-chair of the UN Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, and I, the first executive director of JSDS, also received requests for reasonable accommodation with which we were not familiar, from members with psychosocial disabilities.² One asked for a sofa in the meeting room so that they could take part in the meeting with other participants while relaxing. Another requested a different room so that they could join the session remotely without distraction. Ishikawa, as the main organizer with technical skills, prepared a video link showing the speakers on a screen in the next room for remote participation. Another member requested a quiet room in which to rest. We made these arrangements to offer reasonable accommodation. It was quite funny to find Ishikawa later, exhausted from organizing the meeting, resting in the quiet room during the session.

Reasonable accommodation—meaning appropriate and necessary modifications and adjustments—entered Japan’s legal language through the adoption of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) in 2006 and the subsequent fundamental revision of the Basic Act for Persons with Disabilities in 2011, as well as the enactment of the Act for the Elimination of Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities in 2014 that marked a turning point in driving the efforts of companies and other institutions to increase participation of and remove barriers against people with disabilities. The 2021 revision of the Act for the Elimination of Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities, mandating

private businesses to provide reasonable accommodation, is another evidence for the business sector to take this concept more seriously.

This chapter describes the origin and development of reasonable accommodation, the difference between it and accessibility, the legal framework for reasonable accommodation in Japan, reasonable accommodation and undue hardship, lawsuits and cases involving reasonable accommodation in Japan, reasonable accommodation outside of religion and disability, reasonable accommodation as a useful tool for promoting diversity and inclusion, and, finally, critical arguments about reasonable accommodation.

Origin and development of reasonable accommodation

Reasonable accommodation emerged as part of efforts to fight discrimination based on religion undertaken in the United States in the context of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Lawson, 2008), which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin. The duty to accommodate was born when this Act was implemented in the domain of religion. Religious accommodation “often relates to the work schedules, dress and grooming, or religious expression in the workplace” (US Department of Labor). For example, an employer may ensure that Jewish employees can leave early on Friday so that they can be home in time for Shabbat, starting at sunset, or may ensure that Muslim workers can use available office space for prayers during the day. Such an employer can be seen as providing reasonable religious accommodation.

The entry of reasonable accommodation into the domain of disability also took place in the United States. After a failed attempt to add disability to the Civil Rights Act as a basis for nondiscrimination in 1972, a prohibition of discrimination based on disability was inserted into the Rehabilitation Act as Section 504 in 1973 (Scotch, 2001). This Section’s banning of disability discrimination among agencies receiving federal funding initiated a long process in which the promotion of disability rights and the prohibition of disability-based discrimination advanced through the provision of reasonable accommodation, culminating in the adoption of the CRPD in 2006.³

Section 504’s regulations, which were required for its implementation, were finally published in 1977, after active lobbying and demonstrations by the disability community. They included reasonable accommodation; reasonable accommodation had thus been included within the legal framework of disability discrimination. In 1990, the historic Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) was signed into law, prohibiting discrimination based on disability in the private sector.⁴ Under the ADA, reasonable accommodation in the context of employment typically includes, but is not limited to, “making existing facilities accessible, job restructuring, part-time or modified work schedules, acquiring or modifying equipment, changing tests, training materials, or policies; providing qualified readers or interpreters; and reassignment to a vacant position” (US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2002).

The denial of reasonable accommodation was later defined as “discrimination on the basis of disability” in the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2006.⁵ The CRPD defines discrimination on the basis of disability and reasonable accommodation as follows in Article 2 (Definitions):

“Discrimination on the basis of disability” means any distinction, exclusion, or restriction on the basis of disability, which has the purpose or effect of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise, on an equal basis with others, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil, or any other field. It includes all forms of discrimination, including *denial of reasonable accommodation* [emphasis added].

“Reasonable accommodation” means *necessary and appropriate modification and adjustments* not imposing a disproportionate or undue burden, where needed in a particular case, to ensure to persons with disabilities the enjoyment or exercise on an equal basis with others of all human rights and fundamental freedoms. [emphasis added]

As examples of reasonable accommodation, the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2018, p. 6) lists “making existing facilities and information accessible to the individual with a disability; modifying equipment; reorganizing activities; rescheduling work; adjusting curricula learning materials and teaching strategies; adjusting medical procedures; or enabling access to support personnel without disproportionate or undue burden.”

The denial of reasonable accommodation, “necessary and appropriate modification and adjustments,” was thus clearly included in the definition of discrimination on the basis of disability within the CRPD, which refers to both “diversity” and “inclusion” in Article 3 (General Principles), as follows:

- (c) Full and effective participation and *inclusion* in the society.
- (d) Respect for difference and acceptance of persons with disabilities as part of human *diversity* and humanity.⁶ [emphasis added]

These general principles represent the overarching principles of the Convention. There are six more: (a) respect for inherent dignity, individual autonomy, including the freedom to make one’s own choices, and independence of persons; (b) nondiscrimination; (e) equality of opportunity; (f) accessibility; (g) equality between men and women; and (h) respect for the evolving capacities of children with disabilities and respect for the rights of children with disabilities to preserve their identities.

The main independent article on equality and nondiscrimination, which fall under General Principle (b), is Article 5, which states that “in order to promote equality and eliminate discrimination, States Parties shall take all appropriate steps to ensure that reasonable accommodation is provided.” The Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2018), in its authoritative interpretation of

Article 5, refers to “inclusive equality” as the basis of the CRPD and embraces “a substantive model of equality and extends and elaborates on the content of equality in ... an accommodating dimension to make space for difference as a matter of human dignity” (para. 11).⁷

Reasonable accommodation and accessibility

The difference between reasonable accommodation and accessibility deserves an explanation. When I give lectures and deliver training on the CRPD and the Act for the Elimination of Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities, I normally touch on this only lightly if the audience or participants are not familiar with disability issues. Put simply, the focus of reasonable accommodation is on individuals with disabilities, while accessibility concerns the wider community.

A General Comment is an in-depth interpretation of the CRPD by the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. General Comment No. 2 on accessibility, issued in 2014, discusses the distinction between reasonable accommodation and accessibility as follows:

Accessibility is related to groups, whereas reasonable accommodation is related to individuals. This means that the duty to provide accessibility is an *ex-ante* duty. States parties therefore have the duty to provide accessibility before receiving an individual request to enter or use a place or service...

(para. 25)

The duty to provide reasonable accommodation is an *ex nunc* duty, which means that it is enforceable from the moment an individual with an impairment needs it in a given situation, for example, workplace or school, in order to enjoy her or his rights on an equal basis in a particular context. Here, accessibility standards can be an indicator, but may not be taken as prescriptive. Reasonable accommodation can be used as a means of ensuring accessibility for an individual with a disability in a particular situation.

(para. 26)

The above interpretation of reasonable accommodation emphasizes the relevance of reasonable accommodation to a particular person with disabilities.⁸ Below, I discuss some examples that deal with the difference between reasonable accommodation and accessibility.

The first example relates to Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR), who served as the 32nd president of the United States from 1933 to 1945. FDR, a polio survivor, was a regular wheelchair user but did his best to hide it from the public (Gallagher, 1985; Tobin, 2013). Gallagher, who analyzed FDR and disability, pointed out that, when FDR passed away in 1945, “ramps constructed in the White House and other places across Washington for the use of the President’s wheelchair were soon taken up” (op. cit., pp. 208-209). The ramps and other accessible facilities

were provided to FDR as reasonable accommodation; when he was gone, they were removed.

The second example concerns the University of Tokyo (UT). Its graduate school built an elevator for its first wheelchair-using student more than ten years ago. For the student, the elevator was reasonable accommodation. Of course, when he graduated, the elevator stayed, unlike the facilities provided for FDR. The elevator increased the accessibility of UT for faculty, staff, students, and the general public.⁹ This illustrates how “in certain circumstances, the reasonable accommodation provided becomes a collective or public good” (Committee on the Right of Persons with Disabilities, 2018, 6).

The third example deals with how sign language interpretation and captioning are provided. When the organizers of a public meeting decide to provide sign language interpretation and captioning regardless of whether there will be a deaf or hard of hearing person in the audience, they are provided as accessibility. If they are provided in response to a request from a specific individual with disabilities, they constitute reasonable accommodation for that person.

When the overall level of accessibility improves, there is generally less need for reasonable accommodation for a specific individual, as seen in the above examples. However, even when the accessibility level is high, there will always be room for reasonable accommodation based on individual needs.

Legal framework of reasonable accommodation in Japan

A number of disability policy reforms were introduced when the liberal and left-leaning Democratic Party of Japan and its coalition partners were in power from 2009 to 2012, a rare period in Japan’s political history (Nagase, 2013a).¹⁰ These reforms included a fundamental revision of the Basic Act for Persons with Disabilities in 2011, which introduced reasonable accommodation to Japan’s legal vocabulary. In order to give substance to this groundbreaking move, the Act for Eliminating Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities (Discrimination Elimination Act), which treats the denial of reasonable accommodation as discrimination, was enacted in 2013. In the same year, the Act for Employment Promotion, etc. of Persons with Disabilities (Employment Promotion Act) was also revised to mandate reasonable accommodation in employment.

The Discrimination Elimination Act prohibits discrimination against persons with disabilities, including the denial of reasonable accommodation. While the Act covers both the public and private sectors, the latter is only encouraged (not mandated) to provide reasonable accommodation.

In its initial report to the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2017, p. 10), the government explained the Act as follows:

[The act] prohibits administrative organizations, etc. and the private businesses sector from violating the rights and interests of persons with disabilities through unfair discriminatory treatment because of disability, and provides that when a person with a disability requires the removal of a social

barrier and if the burden associated with said implementation is not excessive, reasonable accommodation must be given toward this end so as not to violate his/her rights and interests (*the private businesses sector shall endeavor to provide reasonable accommodation*). [emphasis added]

The issue of legally mandating reasonable accommodation in the private sector has been discussed by the Commission on Policy for Persons with Disabilities, an advisory body established in the Cabinet Office, based on the Basic Act for Persons with Disabilities. In his policy speech delivered to the Diet (Japan's parliament) on January 18, 2021, Prime Minister Suga Yoshihide expressed his government's intention to make it a legal obligation for the private sector to provide reasonable accommodation (Prime Minister of Japan and his cabinet).¹¹ In May 2021, after the House of Representatives, the House of Councilors agreed to the revision of the Discrimination Elimination Act obliging the provision of reasonable accommodation to private businesses and universities. This revision will be effective within three years since the date of promulgation, 4 June 2021. It should be noted that it took two years and eight months for the Discrimination Elimination Act to take effect after it was passed, time that was deemed necessary for awareness raising and training.

According to the Discrimination Elimination Act, discrimination in employment is covered by the Employment Promotion Act, which was revised in 2013 to mandate the provision of reasonable accommodation in both the public and private sectors. It differs from the Discrimination Elimination Act in two important ways. First, while the Discrimination Elimination Act mandates the provision of reasonable accommodation only in the public sector, the Employment Promotion Act mandates its provision in both the public and private sectors. Second, the Employment Promotion Act does not define the denial of reasonable accommodation as discrimination based on disability (Kawashima, 2016).

In its parallel report to the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, the Japan Disability Forum (JDF), an umbrella network of organizations of and for persons with disabilities, expressed the concern that “the non-provision of reasonable accommodation by an employer is not defined as discrimination” in the Employment Promotion Act (2019, p. 22).

Reasonable accommodation and undue hardship

The issue of “disproportionate or undue burden” regarding reasonable accommodation is significant, as it relates to how far duty bearers such as employers or schools have to go to provide reasonable accommodation. This burden consists of not only financial costs but also other arrangements.¹²

There are two ways to deal with the definitions and formulations of reasonable accommodation and disproportionate or undue burdens. One is to exclude the burden element in the definition of reasonable accommodation. In the ADA, for instance, reasonable accommodation in employment is defined as “any change in the work environment or in the way things are customarily done that enables

an individual with a disability to enjoy equal employment opportunities,” and an employer does not have to provide reasonable accommodation if “such accommodation would cause an undue hardship” (US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2002). The other way is to include the burden element in the definition of reasonable accommodation. The CRPD’s definition of reasonable accommodation, which mentions “not imposing a disproportionate or undue burden,” is an example. Although the differences between these two formulations do not necessarily have a significant impact in practice, their differences of approach should be kept in mind.

Japanese laws do not include the burden element in their definition of reasonable accommodation, following the example of the ADA. The Discrimination Elimination Act stipulates that reasonable accommodation must be provided unless the burden is excessive.¹³ The Employment Promotion Act also states that reasonable accommodation must be provided unless its burden is excessive.

The Basic Policy for the Discrimination Elimination Act (Naikakufu, 2015) stipulates that government agencies and private businesses should look into the excessive burden issue on a case-by-case basis, comprehensively and subjectively taking into account (a) the effects on the services being provided; (b) feasibility; (c) costs; (d) size (of the duty bearer); and (e) the financial situation (of the duty bearer).¹⁴

The view of the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities regarding the issue of who has to prove whether reasonable accommodation in a specific situation presents a disproportionate or undue burden is that “the burden of proof rests with the duty bearer who claims that his or her burden would be disproportionate or undue” (2018, p. 8).

Lawsuits and cases involving reasonable accommodation in Japan

Several lawsuits and cases involving reasonable accommodation in the context of discrimination against persons with disabilities have emerged, particularly since both the establishment of the Discrimination Elimination Act and the revision of the Employment Promotion Act were put into effect in 2016. Substantially fewer lawsuits regarding reasonable accommodation have appeared in Japan than in the United States. In one Japanese case, however, the Supreme Court made a ruling. The case in question is outlined below (Hasegawa, 2017; Hasegawa, 2018a; 2018b; Ōgota, 2018; Takizawa, 2020).

Yamaguchi Yukiko was hired by Harada Gakuen at Okayama College as an associate professor. Yamaguchi, who started working at Okayama College in 1999, had low vision due to retinitis pigmentosa, a genetic disorder. Her students were training kindergarten teachers and childcare providers in nurseries. In 2014, when the clerk who was assisting Yamaguchi was about to retire, the president of the College encouraged her to leave her job. She then hired a personal assistant with her own money to help her with tasks such as the handling of printed materials and continued teaching. In 2015, some of her students complained to the school

management that she was not able to maintain order in the classroom or cover the curriculum properly. In response, she apologized, and the College encouraged her to resign. When she did not, in 2016, the College reassigned her from teaching to office work and moved her from her independent research office to the career support room. She then sued the College in Okayama District Court to continue working as an associate professor, both teaching and researching, and to maintain her own office. She also asked for damages. In March 2017, the Okayama District Court ruled partly in her favor, determining that she should remain as an associate professor conducting research and should maintain her office, and awarded her 1.1 million JPY in damages. The court did not support her claim regarding teaching. The subsequent Okayama Higher Court ruling in March 2018 upheld the original verdict. The Supreme Court also upheld the Higher Court ruling and rejected an appeal by the college in November 2018.

Reasonable accommodation was discussed in this case. The Okayama District Court ruling stated regarding the problem behavior of some students that the department did not discuss or consider how to improve the visual information assistance she was receiving and that it was desirable from the “perspective of reasonable accommodation” (Okayama Chihō Saibansho, 2017, p. 26) for the department to consider and explore the visual assistance issue. Hasegawa (2018) argues that these rulings indicate that the provision, or lack of, reasonable accommodation can be considered when determining the necessity of a job change and the disadvantages faced by an employee and that an employee’s work capacity should be considered “with reasonable accommodation” (2018, p. 171).

Other court cases have involved reasonable accommodations. In 2012, Kobayashi Kazuo sued the National Personnel Authority, where he worked, claiming that the low job evaluation he received was unjust as it had not taken his condition due to a stroke into account. This was before the enactment of the Discrimination Elimination Act and the revision of the Employment Promotion Act. The case was settled in court in 2016. The National Personnel Authority agreed to provide reasonable accommodation based on the rules of the National Personnel Authority. Before this settlement, it was not legally clear if persons with disabilities working for the central government had the right to ask for reasonable accommodation based on the rules of the National Personnel Authority (Fukushi Shimbun Henshūbu, 2016).

In 2017, an incident in which Kijima Hideto crawled up 17 steps to board a plane operated by Vanilla Air Inc. at Amami Airport in Amami-Ōshima became a national news story. Vanilla Air Inc. did not allow his assistants to help him board the plane, citing its safety regulations. At the time, Amami Airport was not equipped with facilities designed to help wheelchair users board planes. This case highlights the relationship between accessibility and reasonable accommodation. Since the airport lacked the equipment required to ensure accessibility, such as a boarding bridge or passenger boarding lift, there was a need for reasonable accommodation, human support in this case. This was denied, forcing Kijima to crawl up the stairs on his own. In its statement, the Japan National Assembly of Disabled Peoples’ International, a leading organization of persons

with disabilities (which had made a significant contribution to the CRPD negotiations), argued that, in the absence of accessibility, reasonable accommodation had to be provided (2017). Immediately after this incident, Amami Airport was made accessible to wheelchair passengers.

In 2019, Sannohe Manabu, a junior high school teacher in Akita prefecture who used a wheelchair, appealed to the Prefectural Personnel Commission, stating that his transfer to another school lacked reasonable accommodation. When he was transferred to a new school, he had to commute 1.2 km from his house because there was no accessible apartment in its immediate vicinity. The headmaster and vice-headmaster gave him a ride every day as a reasonable accommodation, initially as volunteers and later as part of their job. However, Sannohe found this arrangement stressful and took legal action. In the end, his appeal was denied. However, in October 2020, when the case was under review, the prefectural education board changed its internal rules to allow teachers with disabilities, including Sannohe, to commute by taxi with costs covering up to 55,000 JPY per month (Sato, 2019; Noshiro, 2020; Sato, 2021).

The last case involved Nitto Denko Corporation, headquartered in Ōsaka City (Unezawa, 2017; Ito, 2021; Jiji, 2021). Nitto, specializing in chemical products, has a capital of 26.7 billion JPY and employs more than 28,000 people (Nittō). In 2014, one of its employees in Onomichi City, Hiroshima Prefecture, who was working on research and development, had a traffic accident during a holiday and broke his neck, leaving his lower body completely paralyzed and his upper body partly paralyzed. After rehabilitation, he moved to Kōbe City, Hyōgo Prefecture, close to his hospital. In 2017, in order to return to his job, he asked for the following as reasonable accommodation, based on the Employment Promotion Act: (a) permission to work remotely from his home in Kōbe, or if this was not feasible, at least one weekday afternoon off and (b) transportation costs (Shinkansen trains and taxi with care) of about 15,000 JPY per day. The company did not accept these conditions, and he was dismissed without explanation. He then sued the company so that he could return to his job with reasonable accommodation. In January 2021, the Ōsaka District Court denied his request, finding that it would cause undue hardship. The ruling stated that, according to Nittō's rules of employment, the plaintiff was required to return to his original job, which he was no longer able to perform, and that he had not asked for a reassignment to another role; thus, the termination of his employment was not illegal.¹⁵

Reasonable accommodation outside of religion and disability

Beyond religion and disability, the original grounds of discrimination from which reasonable accommodation developed, reasonable accommodation has also been utilized in other domains, including sex, gender, and family status. Possible applications of reasonable accommodation have also been discussed for the human rights of foreign workers.

In Canada, reasonable accommodation has been provided based on sex, which increasingly includes discrimination affecting transsexuals, gender, and family

status (Barnett et al., 2012).¹⁶ Examples concerning sex and gender include work adjustments related to pregnancy and breastfeeding. Regarding family status, Canadian examples include work schedules and childcare needs (Barnett et al., 2012). A concrete example of this type of case is as follows. A single mother with a son who had health issues was asked to relocate temporarily by her employer, CN Rail. The Canadian Human Rights Tribunal concluded that CN Rail did not give her reasonable accommodation by giving her only four months before requiring her to move. The Tribunal did not see an undue burden in this case, and “the company was required to review its policies and provide training for managers and staff, as well as financial compensation for the affected employee” (Barnett et al., 2012).

Moriwaki (2017) and other lawyers in Ōita and other parts of Kyūshū have identified foreign workers, who are not native speakers of Japanese, as one of the categories of people for whom reasonable accommodation in employment can be useful, cautiously citing examples of reasonable accommodation for blind persons and persons with low vision, as well as for those who are deaf or hard of hearing.

Conclusion

“Diversity at NHK has just begun,” says Nagashima Ai, a TV director who is hard of hearing and works for NHK, Japan’s public broadcasting service (NHK). When she started to lose her hearing around 2009, she asked for captioners who could write down spoken communication, but NHK refused. In 2017, NHK officially hired captioners (Nagashima, 2021). The Revised Employment Promotion Act, mandating reasonable accommodation in the workplace, took effect in April 2016. The provision of captioners by NHK was presumably facilitated by this new legal framework. This is just one example of the effects of this legislation.

While reasonable accommodation can have a positive impact, as shown above, its potential dangers have also been pointed out. Day and Brodsky (1996, p. 462) state that reasonable “accommodation is assimilationist. Its goal is to try to make ‘different’ people fit into existing systems.” In the context of religion, diversity, and multiculturalism, Beaman (2012, p. 208) points out that “when we ‘accommodate’ someone, we grant an exception to the rule, rather than questioning the inclusiveness of the rule itself.” The challenge posed by reasonable accommodation as a tool for promoting diversity and inclusion in the domain of disability is how to promote and improve accessibility in general while making appropriate and necessary modifications and adjustments for each individual.

The relationships between inclusion, assimilation (sameness), exclusion, and difference are illustrated by Ishikawa (2000) in a matrix (see Figure 6.1). It suggests that the way forward for the disability community is to demand both being different and being included (2nd quadrant). Nishikura and Iino (2016), denying the assimilationist element of reasonable accommodation, positions reasonable accommodation as a practice of being different and included, trusting that

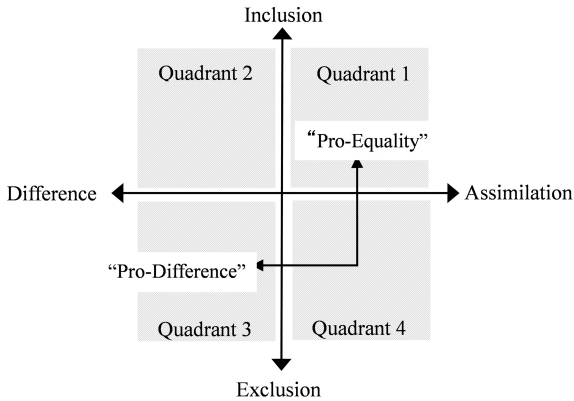


Figure 6.1 The relationships between inclusion, assimilation (sameness), exclusion, and difference

reasonable accommodation can change the mainstream rules and practices in the long run.

In this chapter, I traced how the concept of reasonable accommodation has developed, elucidated the relationship between reasonable accommodation and accessibility, provided an overview of Japan's legal framework of reasonable accommodation, analyzed the qualifier of undue hardship, covered lawsuits and cases involving reasonable accommodation, and considered reasonable accommodation outside of religion and disability in order to illustrate the usefulness of reasonable accommodation in promoting diversity and inclusion.

Rules are made primarily for the convenience of the majority. The idea of reasonable accommodation is to make exceptions for individuals in specific situations. Reasonable accommodation requires a flexible interpretation and application of rules. In addition, the rules themselves should be continuously reexamined to promote diversity and the inclusivity of our community (Nagase, 2013b).

When we are able to find a good balance between (a) reviewing the general rules themselves and (b) treating individuals differently, reasonable accommodation can be an effective tool for promoting diversity and inclusion on the basis of nondiscrimination and equality.

Acknowledgment

This research was supported by grants from the JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP18K01981 (Research on the Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in East Asia), Private University Research Branding Project (Type B: Global Development Category) of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology and Center for Inclusive Leadership in Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (<https://en.apu.ac.jp/cil/>).

Notes

- 1 Don Corleone's words to other mafia leaders in a meeting (Puzo, 1969, p. 287).
- 2 Psychosocial disabilities refer to disabilities related to mental health issues, sometimes called "mental disabilities." The UN Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities uses this term. Some persons with psychosocial disabilities, such as the World Network of Users and Survivors of Psychiatry, call themselves "users" or "survivors" of psychiatry.
- 3 Sec. 504, "Nondiscrimination Under Federal Grants," states that "No otherwise qualified handicapped individual in the United States, as defined in section 7 (6), shall, solely by reason of his handicap, be excluded from the participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance" (US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission).
- 4 Davis (2015) gives a detailed and lively account of the political process behind the ADA.
- 5 As of the end of March 2021, there have been 182 ratifications. These include the European Union (EU) as a regional integration organization, as provided for in Article 44 of the CRPD. Outside of the UN system, the Republic of China governing Taiwan passed a law to domesticate the CRPD in 2014. Subsequently, in 2017, the International Review Committee, of which I served as Chair, reviewed the implementation of the CRPD in Taiwan.
- 6 We note that "difference" and "diversity" are under one heading here.
- 7 The preceding paragraph 10 refers to the issue of the "dilemma of difference," which was developed by Minow (1990). Nagase (1996) briefly discussed the "dilemma of difference" and reasonable accommodation after stating that "the adoption of 'reasonable accommodation' demonstrates the development of the concept of equality for disabled people."
- 8 In the United Kingdom, "reasonable adjustment" is used in place of "reasonable accommodation" in the Equality Law, and includes anticipating adjustments. In General Comment No. 6 (2018) on equality and nondiscrimination, the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities states that "it is important to note that the duty to provide reasonable accommodation is not limited to situations in which the person with a disability has asked for an accommodation or in which it could be proved that the alleged duty bearer was actually aware that the person in question had a disability. It should also apply in situations where a potential duty bearer should have realized that the person in question had a disability that might require accommodations to address barriers to exercising rights," adding this element of anticipatory duty (2018, pp. 6–7).
- 9 I was involved with the decision-making body governing disability services at UT. I worked for UT from 2002 to 2013.
- 10 The disability policy reform was promoted through the Committee for Disability Policy Reform, established within the Cabinet Office of the Government of Japan. I was a member of this Committee from 2010 to 2012.
- 11 The reference to reasonable accommodation in the provisional translation states that "We will request private-sector companies to give reasonable consideration to people with disabilities." This translation is not correct. In addition to the obvious mistranslation reasonable consideration," private sector companies have already been requested to provide reasonable accommodation. A more faithful translation would be "We will require private sector companies to provide reasonable accommodation to persons with disabilities." The original policy speech in Japanese can be found at the following link: https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/99_suga/statement/2021/0118shoshinhyomei.html.
- 12 The Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities elaborates that "We also need to note that 'reasonable accommodation' is a single term, and 'reasonable' should not be misunderstood as an exception clause; the concept of 'reasonableness' should not act as a distinct qualifier or modifier to the duty. It is not a means by which

the costs of accommodation or the availability of resources can be assessed—this occurs at a later stage, when the ‘disproportionate or undue burden’ assessment is undertaken. Rather, the reasonableness of an accommodation is a reference to its relevance, appropriateness, and effectiveness for the person with a disability. An accommodation is reasonable, therefore, if it achieves the purpose (or purposes) for which it is being made, and is tailored to meet the requirements of the person with a disability” (2018).

- 13 The Basic Policy of the Disability Discrimination Act, approved by the Cabinet decision on February 4, 2015, in fact, adopts the definition, based on CRPD, that includes undue burden (Naikakufu, 2015).
- 14 According to Barnett et al. (2012), in the Canadian context, courts and human rights tribunals have taken the following into account: (a) cost, (b) health and safety, and (c) conflicting rights (meaning that the substantial violation of the rights of others constitute undue hardship).
- 15 As this ruling was made at the end of January 2021, more careful analysis of this case is needed, including its implications for the provision of reasonable accommodation.
- 16 In Canada, recent discussions on reasonable accommodation have been increasingly focused on the domain of religion, partly due to the case of Multani (2006), in which school authorities prohibited a student from bringing a kirpan (a dagger carried by Sikhs as part of their religious practice) to school on safety grounds. See Bouchard and Taylor (2008), a Japanese translation of which was published in 2011 by Akashi Shoten, and Beaman (2012).

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Part II

Issues and cases of diversity and inclusion in higher education



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7 Reasonable accommodation and information accessibility for students with disabilities in Japanese higher education

Yoshimi Matsuzaki and Kuniomi Shibata

Introduction

Information accessibility in Japan

What is information accessibility? When a person with a visual disability receives printed information, he/she cannot immediately access that information. A person with hearing disabilities cannot participate in a conference that involves only discussion. What causes these situations? They are not due to difficulties with vision or hearing but rather to limited access to information. Information accessibility is an attempt to eliminate socially constructed barriers.

Article 3 of the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities lists eight general principles, one of which is accessibility. The details are specified in Article 9, which includes (a) buildings, roads, transportation, and other indoor and outdoor facilities, including schools, housing, medical facilities, and workplaces; and (b) information, communications, and other services, including electronic services and emergency services (UN General Assembly, A/RES/61/106, 2007). Information accessibility is outlined in (b). Article 24 describes education in the sense that parties shall ensure that effective, individualized support measures are provided in environments that maximize academic and social development, consistent with the goal of full inclusion. Article 24 also stipulates that information accessibility plays a significant role, as it helps persons with disabilities to receive support within the general education system to ensure they receive an effective education.

Many service providers and researchers have shared good examples of information accessibility; for persons with visual disabilities, it involves transforming text into text data, Braille, or a speech format. For persons with hearing disabilities, information accessibility includes closed captioning, note taking, and sign language translation services. Many disabled students' services provide sufficient information accessibility. Reports (Jasso, 2019) indicate that many students with disabilities are aware of the various accommodations available to them.

What are the problems with current information accessibility on campus? This chapter considers the essential meaning of "information accessibility" in higher education institutions (HEIs). Therefore, it is necessary to address the following questions: why do students access specific information? How do students utilize

it after accessing it? We will discuss the conditions of learning in universities as well, considering information accessibility in higher education, especially whether the differences in information transmission will have an impact on students' understanding of reading acquisition.

The trends of information accessibility in academia

Learning in an academic field

Since the 2016 Act for Eliminating Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities, the demand for higher education has soared among people with disabilities, and pioneers with disabilities have constructed an organization that provides a service for creating comfortable environments to learn in universities (Shapiro, 1993=1999). Some people say that such a supportive environment makes some students with disabilities passive when they learn (Kataoka & Kojima, 2017), although there are many obstacles that discourage students with disabilities from enrolling in universities in the first place (Yoshida, 2010).

These tendencies have appeared in students with disabilities and other university students as well. Nowadays, most young Japanese people opt to learn in higher education and hope to obtain a degree. Sometimes, people criticize students for tending to be like consumers of educational services; they also say that at the beginning of the establishment of HEIs, people enrolled in universities to learn more in-depth (Ilich, 1973; 2015). Although this is a welcoming situation from one standpoint, it is an interesting matter when students become like consumers of education.

Nowadays, some translators do the simple translation for making information easier and simpler to absorb, though it would risk being just a rough paraphrasing. The rough paraphrased information is at risk to be biased by the readers' understanding. For example, the famous Japanese author Atsushi Nakajima (1909–1942) has a particular writing style, which is dignified and rhythmical. As like “The Moon over the Mountain”, the aura of his works (1942) seems to have been constructed using *kanji*. Various expressions are conveyed in works expressed by *kanji* writing, and this writing style seems to make readers feel dignified. Some people have the impression that they are difficult because they frequently use *kanji* they are not usually used to. Then, when *kanji* works are modified into *hiragana*, do the works become readable? When *kanji* works are modified in *hiragana*, the aura of dignity vanishes.

Readers would be able to read and understand works based on comprehensive information about what is written and how it is to be written. The texts used in HEIs require students to read carefully; therefore, they should not be “rough paraphrase.”

The literacy needed in the academic field: cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) and basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS)

In considering learning in higher education, we need to refer to basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP), concepts that have been studied in the realm of second language acquisition. Cummins (1984) explained the difference between CALP and BICS with

two terms: *cognitively* and *context*. Regarding CALP, he argued that learners need a certain kind of knowledge in order to read and understand complex sentences. He asserted that BICS is “context embedded” and “cognitively undemanding” (Cummins, 1984). Students’ literacy evolves from BICS to CALP as they move through school.

Students need CALP more than BICS to understand academic content in higher education, and the difference between CALP and BICS may have a strong influence on information accessibility. Many students develop interest-specific abilities that allow them to effectively investigate their topics on campus. Students’ learning processes require attentive reading, practical thinking, and a logical systematization of what they have learned. This includes manipulating abstract concepts, detailed analysis, and careful observation.

The “critical reading” demanded as one of the features of learning in higher education deeply depends on the subject’s interpretations. This implies that the knowledge has not been verified as perfectly correct; further, it has the probability of being disproven. Information accessibility in universities should play a role in guaranteeing opportunities for disproving ideas.

Characteristics of the “Japanese” language

As discussed in the previous section, information accessibility in HEIs requires some consideration for students with disabilities to learn independently and autonomically. In Japanese higher education, most discussions are held in the Japanese language; that is, our next consideration is how information written in Japanese should deal with information accessibility. For this research, we focused on the characteristics of Japanese.

Japanese has four kinds of writing systems: *kanji*, *hiragana*, *katakana*, and *romaji*, represented by alphabets. Writers understand that there are subtle differences between the four writing systems. *Hiragana* and *katakana* are generally called phonograms, consisting of 46 characters that correspond to each syllable in Japanese. *Kanji* is used as an ideogram in which each character has a meaning. Japanese words are represented in *hiragana*, *katakana*, and *kanji* with the same pronunciation, but there are differences in each writing system’s nuances. Most writers use *hiragana* or *kanji* to indicate specific meanings. For Japanese readers, writing in each system is essential to grasp differences in meaning, especially because words are pronounced the same.

In higher education, learners must understand information by reading and analyzing it critically. This means that learners need to pay careful attention to the text. In the case of academic content, especially in Japanese, when learners only have access to a spoken version of the text, they receive limited information. Since students do not know how the sentences are written and lack the necessary context, the way the information is written and presented in a particular writing system affects the extent to which a reader or learner understands the content.

The various writing systems in Japanese are utilized to indicate academic stance in a letter-writing way; for example, the term “disability” may appear in

a certain way in *hiragana* or *kanji* that is appropriate, because each method of writing implies a perspective on disabilities. This example reminds us that how something is written is effective for understanding and interpreting a text (Council to Promote Reform of the System for Persons with Disabilities, 2010).

However, from the angle of information accessibility, these characteristics of Japanese become obstacles, especially when students with visual disabilities want to access information in Japanese. The main means of transmitting information for people with visual disabilities is Braille, which cannot be expressed with *kanji* symbols (NAIIV, 2019). Braille is a tactile writing system in which users receive information by touching raised dots. Braille characters are made up of six dots arranged in two columns of three dots each; generally, one block represents one letter. Louis Braille invented the present style of Braille in France in 1824 (Simpson, 2013). Each Japanese sound of a word has a corresponding Braille letter; Japanese Braille is similar to the phonographic writing system because it does not have any ideographic characters.

Readers can imagine the meaning of *kanji* even if they cannot pronounce it. This means that an ideographic writing system such as *kanji* provides more readability than a phonographic writing system, such as *hiragana* or *katakana*. Although Braille users cannot recognize *kanji* visually, they have learned *kanji* letters and use them for typing on the computer. *Kanji* education has been established little by little and is used widely (Michimura, 2010).

Although *kanji* is used broadly and it is necessary to access effective reading, Japanese Braille cannot identify differences between homophones, which often happens in Japanese. Japanese Braille users must infer the meanings of words from the context or refer to the annotations by Braille translators. In many cases, because there are no standardized rules about inserting annotations, annotations depend on the interpretation of Braille translators. Certain types of annotations run the risk of being misleading or noisy for Braille users (Table 7.1).

The Japanese language has 46 basic syllables and includes a number of voiced consonant syllables and plosive syllables (contracted sounds), which brings the total number of syllables to approximately 115. Since the combinations of dots in Braille are limited, the variations in how we can express the Japanese language are also restricted. For example, in English, Braille can express *the* or *and* as one letter of Braille (Simpson, 2013). However, the Japanese letter *あ*, the letter *A*, and the number 1 all use the same combination of 6 dots in Braille. Braille readers need a particular kind of Braille to distinguish them, indicating whether the next letter is a number or a letter (NAIIV, 2019).

Table 7.1 An example of homophones of Japanese, “Hashi”

	端	橋	箸
Pronunciation	hashi	hashi	hashi
Meaning	edge	bridge	chopsticks

Braille can indicate special characters and particular font styles, such as bold or underlined text. For example, Braille can express parentheses, square brackets, angle brackets, (curly) braces, and double parentheses. In some cases, however, the combined use of parentheses and quotations can lead to misunderstandings for both Braille translators and readers, because the Japanese do not have firm rules on how to insert these kinds of annotations. The authors always include special annotations as necessary, and readers can better grasp the authors' intentions and meanings as they can understand how the author wrote the text.

One difficulty in translating Japanese academic texts into Braille is the mismatch between Braille, which has phonograms, and Japanese, which has ideograms. Since Braille does not indicate the nuanced differences among the Japanese writing systems, Braille users can find it difficult to recognize homophones, which sometimes include significant academic information. When authors use *kanji* as a rhetorical tool, the information conveyed by the form of *kanji* is essential for the reader to understand the content thoroughly. Although Braille translators insert annotations to assist Braille users, they are not always sufficient for critically reading the material, as the additional information is dependent on the translators' interpretation. In addition, the standardized rules that determine how to insert annotations in Japanese texts are insufficient in Braille, which largely relies on grassroots volunteers to translate. Each translation volunteer group has its own unique rules. This means that locality and other factors can subtly affect the way Braille is translated.

Some people may claim that using *kanji* would be a "social barrier" (Nakano, 2015), although the impression brought about by *kanji* usage depends on the writing style, and this characteristic is its uniqueness. It is not a simple problem; each language or writing style has corresponding forms of expression, and each format has both strengths and weaknesses. Translators should grasp the subject of the text and try to transform it into another linguistic system carefully, without damaging the original nuances. Such careful translation/interpretation gives readers room for in-depth reading and consideration.

The content in higher education often demands that students read carefully to understand the author's intention and logic; the students also need to read detailed differences in content since such reading attitudes bring about a deeper understanding and interpretation. Each means of transmission also has corresponding features depending on the style. It would be helpful to conduct a study on whether the characteristics of each mode of transmission influence independent and automatic reading. For the current study, we predicted that differences in information transmission would significantly impact the understanding of reading acquisition.

Research for the Reading Accessibility of Reasonable Accommodations (RARA) project

Research design

We will discuss now the differences between two forms of transmission—Braille and sign language—through our initiative called the Reading Accessibility of

Reasonable Accommodations (RARA) project. The primary aim of our project is information accessibility, especially the difference in the quality of understanding with each mode of transmission.

RARA was designed as a longitudinal postal study; the target participants were persons with visual disabilities, hearing disabilities, and a control group. There was no limitation of research attendance regarding their ages, jobs, or the severity of their disabilities due to the relatively small sample size. The research was conducted from the end of 2019 until April 2020, with suspension because of the COVID-19 pandemic and re-started in 2021.

The respondents received “reading texts” in Braille, sign language, or text (they could choose the format). The texts fell under two categories: BICS and CALP. The respondents summarized and made comments about each of the texts and returned their responses to us. After graders scored each response, we then calculated and analyzed their scores. We compared the main analysis of RARA with the results of the BICS and CALP texts for each mode of transmitting the information. Generally, the BICS score is presumed to be higher than that of CALP, regardless of the mode of transmission. In addition, attitudes about reading books are regarded as the variables that should be adjusted; we asked about these matters on first contacting the respondents; we also analyzed the data. We performed a content analysis based on the summaries and comments of the respondents (Figure 7.1).

For the current study, the following texts were sent to each respondent in Japanese: (1) Text A: *Heritage* written by Michio Hoshino in 2002, an animal and nature photographer and essayist; his central active field is in Alaska, USA; (2) Text B: Some paragraphs from *Plastic Words: The Tyranny of a Modular Language*, written by Uwe Pörksen and translated in 2007, a German linguist.

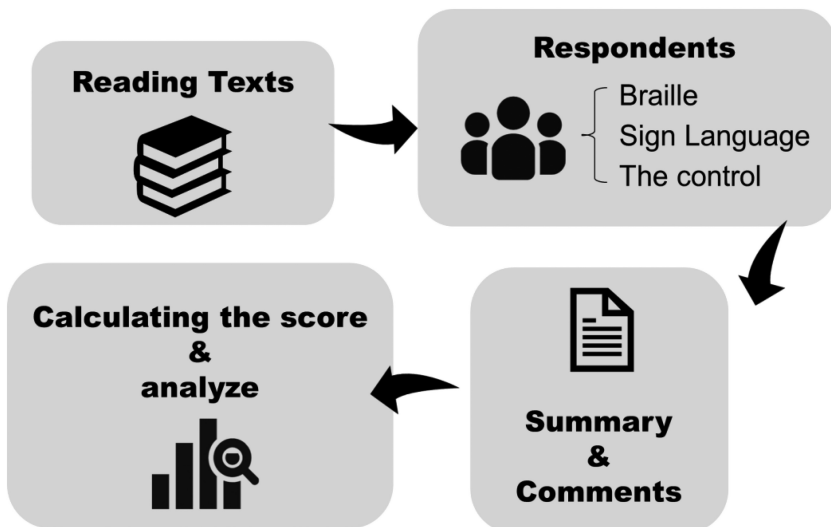


Figure 7.1 The flowchart of the process of RARA project

Table 7.2 Information of Text A and Text B in RARA project

	<i>Numbers of letter</i>	<i>Number of words in Katakana</i>	<i>Percentage of Kanji</i>
Text A	771	8	27.11
Text B	1185	6	30.89

Text A covers the author's experiences; we estimated that a reader would need more BICS skills to interpret it. Text B provides a critique of society regarding crucial terms in the book; this text was constructed from abstract expressions; we assumed that readers would need some amount of CALP skills to interpret it. Though both texts are read in classes at first- or second-degree universities, we positioned Text B typical example of the materials in areas of social sciences, because the feature of Text A is more "context embedded" and Text B requires readers' careful reading. The information in both texts is given in Table 7.2.

A professional Braille translator translated the questionnaire and texts. The deaf translator also translated the Japanese Sign Language (JSL) version into JSL; the production of videos was coordinated by an enterprise specializing in making sign language videos. The translation team contained the following members: a deaf translator, a professor who handles the two texts at universities, two interpreters of JSL, and a manager of the translators' enterprise.

In higher education, most classes require students to access some items distributed as text or sources and to discuss them with each other regarding specific subjects; that is, this process requires students' independent, autonomic reading. A professor who handles the texts in his/her class plays a role in guaranteeing the quality of videos as educational content in higher education, which allows the students to engage in active discussions.

We could not discuss the outcomes of participants with hearing disabilities because there were not enough samples; we will analyze the data in a future study.

Discussion topics: logistics

The translation process revealed some compelling points on the characteristics of the modes of transmission.

Braille

Interviews with the translator indicated discussion points on translating into Braille. The first issue is the matter of *kanji*. A translator needs to pay attention to accurate pronunciations of the *kanji* since the Braille writing system needs to be written in phonogram signs corresponding to Japanese sounds. It is challenging for a translator to certify the accuracy of pronunciation, especially if the writing is uncommon because the translator cannot contact the author(s) and confirm uncertainties with them.

In Braille text, translators make annotations, which is one of the rules of Braille that helps readers to easily recognize proper *kanji* writing, depending on the case of the homophones. These types of annotations can be distinguished from general annotations by using a sign called “Braille insert.” Translators provide annotations in case of difficulties to recognize because of the Braille writing system. For example, Text B has some annotations: 架橋 (*building a bridge*) and 威光 (*majesty*). In the former example, the translator mentioned the meaning of the *kanji* idioms and indicated the synonyms as an annotation of the latter case. Such annotations depend on the translator’s judgment, who usually wants to produce a readable translation for Braille users. However, translators often hesitate to make annotations because the heavy use of annotations might make it hard for readers to understand the content.

Another remarkable point of Braille as a mode of transmission is the use of special characters and particular font styles, such as bold for emphasis. Moreover, the types of expression in parentheses are also assumed to need some attention. The Japanese content sometimes contains some variations in parentheses, not only the unique features of *hiragana*, *katakana*, and *kanji*. When such punctuation and special characters are translated into Braille, Braille reveals the differences from the normal text. However, Braille does not have Braille signs for properly corresponding to each kind of parenthesis and special mark. For example, Text A contains the following words; “帰還” (“*repatriation*”) and たましい (*soul*). Text B contains the word “威光” (“*majesty*”). There are two kinds of parentheses, and the Braille version signals each parenthesis by using “the second parentheses” and “the first parenthesis” generally, but there is no explanation for combinations of parentheses. An emphasis point is marked by using a “first indicator,” which helps Braille users notice that a particular word is stressed by way of something. Braille users only recognize the existence of parentheses and emphasis, not how they are described.

Sign language

JSL has attracted public attention in recent years. Currently, sign language is one of the most important modes of communication for persons with hearing difficulties. JSL is a special language with an independent linguistic system and is not the same as signed Japanese language, which uses Japanese grammar and vocabulary. The pairing of JSL and signed Japanese is similar to that of American Sign Language (ASL) and Sim Com (Takei, 2003).

Generally, languages create vocabularies by combining vowels and consonants according to language rules. In the case of JSL, the vocabulary comes from a combination of hand forms, position, motion, and the direction of the palm. JSL also has an expression type called a classifier (CL), which stands for an object’s shape, motion, and size. The use of CL corresponds to the use of adverbs in Japanese. JSL not only employs the hands and fingers but also the entire face. The motions of the eyebrows, eyes, mouth, jaw, and head play an important role in JSL. The mouth’s motion and shape are just as important as hand and finger movements to express a proper meaning in JSL. It is a language with independent grammar, and body parts and motions systematize it.

JSL is a language system that can express situations concretely. For example, the verb *to eat* is expressed more concretely in JSL than in Japanese. JSL needs to describe how to eat something (e.g., with chopsticks, the hands, a spoon, etc.). JSL includes more detailed descriptions of the action because JSL needs details to express information concretely, which makes it unique (Sakata et al., 2008).

JSL has significant potential to assist students with hearing disabilities to receive clearer information; it is believed that this will motivate JSL users to learn within their communities or to pursue higher education. For a long time, people with hearing difficulties got information from the limited speech sounds they could hear or from lip reading, which is not sufficient for deep understanding. Because there are various kinds of hearing disabilities, JSL does not always resolve communication problems. However, recent trends in higher education for persons with hearing disabilities place greater importance on JSL. One example is the translation into JSL of an academic thesis titled *Considering the accessibility of academic publishing: From the practice of sign language translation of books* (Hatano, et al. 2018, Hatano 2019). Some museums also arrange for staff who are fluent in JSL and utilize videos in JSL to describe objects in the museum (Egusa et al., 2015). On campus, there is a growing need for JSL for information accessibility. JSL translators assist students with hearing disabilities, which allows them to join class discussions. Courses for JSL translators to enhance their skills are gradually needed, and the opening of classes for students with hearing disabilities involves technical and abstract concepts in higher education (Sasaki, 2019).

Text B, which contains many abstract portions, is especially difficult to perform in sign language. For example, the phrase 弁証法の緊張 (*the dialectical tension*) was difficult to translate into JSL. The deaf person who translated the sentence was neither a specialist in linguistics nor philosophy. The deaf translator told us that she could not translate this phrase into JSL if she could not choose signed Japanese (versus JSL). Further, she explained that a combination of JSL and signed Japanese could be confusing for readers and affect their understanding of the text. Finally, this keyword was translated into sign language, referring to *kanji*, to guarantee university students' quality of academic content.

Text B also contains the key phrases 科学用語 (*scientific term*) and 日常言語 (*common language*). There were difficulties in distinguishing between them during translation. These two similar phrases were distinguished in the translated version using non-manual signals (NMSs), a characteristic of JSL. However, the deaf translator became nervous because she was not confident that readers could recognize the difference. It is more common for someone to learn JSL from their peers and communities, rather than from their parents. Because of this, JSL has subtle variations among generations, localities, and communities. The locality of sign language is reflected in unique dialects.

Printed Japanese/Braille

As of February 2021, there were 18 participants with visual disabilities, and there were 43 people in the control group. More than 60% of the Braille group had

graduated from university or college, and less than 20% had gone to graduate school. The control group was comprised entirely of university students. There was no significant difference between the Braille and the control group regarding reading books' customs and impressions.

Moreover, the number of books read was higher in the Braille group than in the control group. The genres of books the students' usually read revealed a significant difference between the two groups; compared to the control group, people in the Braille group tended to read more books in the areas of history/geography, nature/science/the environment, social topics, health/medicine, ordinary life/cooking/the home, essays/poetry, and non-fiction. The control group tended to read comics more than the Braille group (Table 7.3).

All respondents' summaries and comments were digitized and separated from personal information. The Braille users returned answers in Braille format or by e-mail, and the control group returned answers either written on paper or by e-mail. The answer style depended on the participants' desires. Answers in Braille were translated and digitized.

The coding process was performed by a researcher from the RARA project and two assistants; they graded both Texts A and B returned by all the participants of this research. Further, they performed the process in blinded situations. The graders followed each rule of grading; they did not share the rules. The maximum score was 30.

The score was compared between the Braille group and the control group for each text. Regarding Text A, analysis of a *t*-test showed no significant difference between the two groups. The Braille group's score was higher than that of the control group in the score outcome. Text B indicated a significant difference between the Braille and control groups; the sum scores were higher in the control group than in the Braille group (Table 7.4).

Two types of texts used in this research were assumed to deal with academic texts in universities; that is, there was no gap in the degree of difficulty. However, the outcomes of the two types of text differed significantly.

The causes of this gap in outcome between texts A and B are due to two factors. First, Text B contains more abstract and unfamiliar words. Text B is more abstract than Text A and has many technical terms. Although Text A also has proper nouns like *リペイトリエイション* (*repatriation*), *トーテムポール* (*totem pole*), and *ハイダインディアン* (*Haida Indian*), they have nothing to do with interpreting the content of Text A. Readers can go on reading naturally, even if they cannot grasp the meaning, because such words tend to be concrete. In Text B, the words seem abstract, and some of them were coined by the author; the key phrase *プラスチック・ワード* (*plastic word*) is exactly one of them. This phrase is not mentioned in the content, apparently, or even implied in entire sentences. Further, the two keywords *科学用語* (*scientific term*) and *日常言語* (*ordinary language*) are repeatedly used in this text, but they are supposed to be unfamiliar words for readers; therefore, readers have to be careful when reading. Other phrases like *弁証法的緊張* (*dialectical tension*), *ギリシア文字のエプシロン* (*epsilon in Greek letters*), and *アインシュタインの有名な方程式* (*Einstein's*

Table 7.3 An overview of the participants of RARA project; cross-tabulation between Braille users group and control group

	<i>Braille users group</i>		<i>Control group</i>		<i>p-Value</i>	
	<i>n = 18</i>		<i>n = 43</i>			
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>		
Academic history					0.002	
School of blind	2	11.80	0	0.00		
Vocational school	1	5.90	0	0.00		
University, college	10	58.80	41	97.60		
Graduated school	3	17.60	0	0.00		
Others	1	5.90	1	2.40		
Job					<0.001	
Student	1	6.30	42	100.00		
Office worker	2	12.50	0	0.00		
Teacher	1	6.30	0	0.00		
Part-time job	6	37.50	0	0.00		
Others	6	37.50	0	0.00		
Custom of reading books					0.114	a
Yes	16	88.90	29	67.40		
No	2	11.10	14	32.60		
Preferring to reading books					0.273	
Very much preferred	7	38.90	13	31.00		
Preferred	10	55.60	23	54.80		
Neither	0	0.00	4	9.50		
Not very much preferred	0	0.00	2	4.80		
Not preferred	1	5.60	0	0.00		
Reading books number per a month					0.037	
0	1	5.60	7	16.30		
Less than 1	1	5.60	13	30.20		
1-2 books	3	16.70	11	25.60		
3-4 books	6	33.30	6	14.00		
5-6 books	6	33.30	4	9.30		
More than 7	1	5.60	2	4.70		
Unforgettable books					0.627	a
Yes	16	88.90	40	93.00		
No	2	11.10	3	7.00		
Genre of books on your reading						
Religion/philosophy/ethics	6	33.30	10	23.30	0.526	a
History/geography	11	61.10	11	25.60	0.008	
Nature/science/the environment	5	27.80	2	4.70	0.02	a
Economy/industry/money	3	16.70	7	16.30	1	a
Society	12	66.70	16	37.20	0.035	
Politics	3	16.70	2	4.70	0.147	a
Health/medicine	7	38.90	4	9.30	0.011	a
Hobby/sports	7	38.90	11	25.60	0.299	
Ordinary life/cooking/the home	9	50.00	8	18.60	0.013	
Japanese novel	15	83.30	32	74.40	0.525	a
Foreign novel	12	66.70	17	39.50	0.053	
Photo book	0	0.00	5	11.60	0.309	a
Essays/poetry	9	50.00	10	23.30	0.04	
Non-fiction	13	72.20	7	16.30	<0.001	
Children's books/picture books	6	33.30	8	18.60	0.316	a
Comics	1	5.60	21	48.80	0.001	

^a Fisher's exact test; others: χ^2 test.

Since the statistical analysis was performed excluding the missing values, the total of each item does not match.

Table 7.4 *t*-Test results comparing Braille users group and control group on the summary scores of texts

	Braille users group		Control group		<i>p</i> -Value	95% CI of the difference	
	<i>n</i> = 18		<i>n</i> = 36			Lower	Upper
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD			
Score of Text A	16.111	6.1919	16	5.7619	0.948	-3.31	3.5322
Score of Text B	11.389	7.747	17.833	4.7539	0.004	-10.5563	-2.3326

famous equation) may have been the factors that hindered the readers' understanding since the degree of importance would be difficult for some readers who could not grasp the construction.

The second factor concerns the construction of the texts. Text A has the styles of chronology and author-telling. The author relates a past experience; the reader can follow the topics naturally. Text B has a complex structure; the author describes two aspects of particular words, with a contrast between 科学用語 (*scientific term*) and 日常言語 (*ordinary language*). To grasp this text, the reader needs to grasp the text's topics and how they are described, as well as to analyze the text's construction. Readers are required to organize the information to comprehend the text; it is difficult to understand when they read passively.

From the above, Text B demands that readers have more CALP skills. The Braille users tended to summarize worse than the control group. The outcome also shows a relationship between the content of CALP and Braille users' difficulty with reading. We assume that the reason for the Braille users' low score on Text B is due to the content provided in Braille. Whether the existence of factors that motivate or discourage readers from reading depends on the Braille format has not been verified. Some assumptions provided by certain characteristics of the Braille writing system are presented below.

One feature of Braille is that Braille users cannot access the entire writing construction visually. Braille users recognize and receive information by touching raised dots, which means they get limited information the moment they touch the Braille. Although the control group could grasp the information from the sentence, writing styles and construction were formatted visually at the same time. The control group could take a brief look at each paragraph and grasp the elements of the text; such a method might be a strong readability point. In other words, Braille users cannot access these helpful visual resources when reading texts.

The Braille format expresses Japanese sounds by using the corresponding phonogram sign and has no ideograms like *kanji*; this is another attribute of the mode of transmission: Braille. This characteristic may influence reading difficulties, especially when a text contains unfamiliar words. However, unfamiliar words

Table 7.5 Comparison between Braille users group and control group on impressions of each text

	<i>Braille users group</i>		<i>Control group</i>		<i>p-Value</i>
	<i>n = 18</i>		<i>n = 43</i>		
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	
Difficulty of Text A					0.160
Very easy	6	33.30	9	23.10	
Easy	5	27.80	22	56.40	
Neither	5	27.80	4	10.30	
Difficult	2	11.10	2	5.10	
Very difficult	0	0.00	2	5.10	
Interest of Text A					0.002
Very interesting	6	33.30	9	23.10	
Interesting	4	22.20	24	61.50	
Neither	8	44.40	3	7.70	
Boring	0	0.00	3	7.70	
Very boring	0	0.00	0	0.00	
Difficulty of Text B					0.053
Very easy	0	0.00	0	0.00	
Easy	2	12.50	4	10.00	
Neither	3	18.80	9	22.50	
Difficult	6	37.50	21	52.50	
Very difficult	5	31.30	6	15.00	
Interest of Text B					0.044
Very interesting	0	0.00	2	5.00	
Interesting	1	6.30	11	27.50	
Neither	8	50.00	20	50.00	
Boring	3	18.80	6	15.00	
Very boring	4	25.00	1	2.50	

χ^2 test.

Since the statistical analysis was performed excluding the missing values, the total of each item does not match.

also affected the control group's understanding. The lower score of Text B in Braille users was not assumed to be dependent on unfamiliar content, because both groups thought Text B difficult (Table 7.5).

This research only dealt with one pair of texts, BICS and CALP, and analyzed them using a limited number of samples. A detailed consideration of the causal relationships should be performed in future work.

Conclusion

In this study, we have explored the challenges of information accessibility in HEIs. Students in universities attempt to approach subjects, deepen their understanding, and develop their interpretations. To support students' learning, how

should information accessibility be implemented? What are the considerations, and how should we think about current services? We focused on qualitative differences among modes of transmitting information, conducted an experiment, and analyzed the outcomes.

First, we concluded that Braille users tend to have trouble reading when they access texts that contain many elements of CALP. The Braille users read and interpreted the content of BICS as in the control group, although their scores, calculated from their summaries of CALP, were lower. This showed that Braille may have difficulty describing CALP content.

The RARA project did not include participants with hearing impairment, and the process of recording videos of JSL provided an understanding of JSL's characteristics. The translation process revealed difficulties when the content referred to abstract themes; on the other hand, the translation, regarding content that contained BICS, was done relatively smoothly. This study indicates some difficulties in translating CALP elements into JSL, which would generate suggestions for considering future information accessibility in educational settings in universities.

This study's outcome claims how much current information accessibility has paid attention to the difference between BICS and CALP when they are transformed into another format. How should we handle and adjust information for the accessibility of people with disabilities? It is necessary to carefully consider and accumulate knowledge on the implementation of information accessibility. Literacy is reinforced by individual efforts and the willingness to learn; however, some efforts are based on appropriate environments regarding information accessibilities (Shibata, 2019).

In universities, students and researchers engage in grasping and manipulating practices and theories to develop discussions, even if there are some differences in tendencies of CALP and BICS in each discipline. When readers need to access some difficult academic content, it is not fair for Braille users because they would face more difficulty with CALP than with any other transmitting format. Furthermore, translators into Braille or sign language are also required to distinguish the information of necessities and unnecessities for readers to understand the contents in academic places.

Nowadays, people with visual disabilities often access the information by using a combination of Braille and speech format (Matsuzaki et al., 2020). Such a way of reading is an outcome of ingenuities of people with visual disabilities. However, Braille users are limited to persons with visual difficulties. Educators in universities and service providers need to consider flexible and reasonable information accessibilities for students with disabilities under various conditions. Sometimes there is some confusion between accessibility and the abilities of readers. Therefore, it needs to investigate actual situations of academic reading among people with disabilities.

New concrete methods of information accessibility should be considered in future work, which will bring about the possibility of communication, depending

on various modes of transmitting the information. Some actions should be taken for people with disabilities, as accommodations would become an innovation for all people, as in the case of closed captioning (Shibata et al., 2016). Increasing knowledge of the characteristics of each mode of transmitting information can enhance information accessibility for people with visual or hearing disabilities and offer a chance to deepen and broaden literacy. Information accessibilities need knowledge of the characteristics of each mode of transmitting information for people with disabilities and give us a chance to understand, deepen, and broaden our literacy. The coming era of diversity and inclusion in higher educational institutions means that students of all backgrounds are welcomed. For all students of higher educational institutions, environments that enable all students to attend the class are essential, and fully guaranteeing access to information is crucial for university learning. Learning theories and practices, sometimes abstract, is essential because they will play a role as a lens and tool for learning about the world deeply and utilizing them for people's better lives. The current study is one step for exploration to assuring students' access to information to learn and utilize in universities.

Acknowledgments

This research was supported in part by grants from the FY2018 Private University Research Branding Project (Type B: Global Development Category) of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology and also JSPS KAKENHI grant numbers 20K13703 and 20K12550.

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8 Inclusive policymaking through the development of an open-access database for research and education

Yukiko Ito and Mie Morikawa

Introduction: where is the tool for inclusive policymaking in the information age?

In this chapter, we explore the role of inclusive policymaking and state the importance of data-driven evidence as its tools. In the age of information society, readers might think that searching for information is an easy task. However, we view that it is more difficult to find the appropriate information as we are flooded with more information. With this viewpoint, we have provided a collection of illustrated data evidence in the “Database for Empowerment” (URL: <https://empowerment.tsuda.ac.jp>, the Database hereafter) to support the inclusive process of policymaking.

Inclusive policymaking seeks “to include a diverse number of voices and views in the policy-making process” (OECD, 2013, p. 146). Most importantly, it emphasizes balanced decisions that reflect the voices and viewpoints of underrepresented groups. It is further defined as an evidence-driven process. Specifically, the use of data-based evidence is emphasized for a high degree of transparency and for the involvement of a wide range of citizens (OECD, 2013, p. 146). If collected comprehensively, data-based evidence works as an objective appraisal of different opinions. It also eliminates unconscious biases in people’s minds. We test this hypothesis with an experiment for female college students.

The Japanese government acknowledges that its policymaking process has failed to be evidence-driven, and it presently identifies that establishing a well-working system of EBPM (Evidence-Based Policy Making) is a critical goal. The Cabinet Office describes EBPM as follows:

EBPM is the practice of designing policy not by hewing to episodes of limited scope, but rather by seeking out rational evidence on which decisions may be based, after adequately clarifying what the proposed policy is meant to achieve. EBPM makes use of statistical data and information closely relevant to the assessment of policy effects, and the push toward adopting EBPM is thus instrumental in heightening both the validity of enacted policies as well as citizens’ trust in our nation’s government. The Cabinet Office is actively engaged via numerous initiatives in promoting the adoption of EBPM.

(Website of the Cabinet Office, Government of Japan, <https://www.cao.go.jp/others/kichou/ebpm/ebpm.html>, accessed 2021.2.25)

Nakamura (2019) posits that if we adhere to a narrow definition of evidence, EBPM must then focus on the specific and direct effects of the enacted policy itself, measured via sophisticated statistical methods with known scientific validity such as randomized controlled trials (RCTs). He argues that instead EBPM should become a process toward the consensus for government policy, which employs data-based facts and evaluations as much as possible to share the baseline knowledge beforehand.

Cairney (2017) shows us that it is unrealistic to view EBPM in the same manner as evidence-based medicine (EBM). In other words, we cannot simply establish a strict, scientifically based hierarchy and expect that whatever results our methods yield can be presented as the ideal policy decision, no matter how scientifically valid those methods may be.

Therefore, in discussing EBPM, we adopt a broader definition of what constitutes evidence. In doing so, the purpose of EBPM is no longer a process employing sophisticated statistical methods to obtain some guaranteed, scientifically valid, objective truth about a given social issue. According to Nakamura's (2019) framework, if evidence is broadly defined, a wide variety of participants who would seek to share information are welcome.

Those who implement EBPM then only need to have the basic knowledge necessary to utilize evidence, and if applicable, familiarity with specific instances in which evidence has been applied in the decision-making process.

In other words, inclusive policymaking is embodied by a series of fair and transparent policymaking processes based on data-driven evidence. The processes incorporate three elements. First, they should include voices and opinions from small or underrepresented groups. Second, they should spread to the whole citizen for them to understand data-driven evidence. Third, they should ensure that decisions are appropriately and transparently based on concrete evidence.

However, specifically, what can help citizens, especially who are underrepresented in societies, to use data-driven evidence for their opinions? What can help them monitor data-driven policymaking processes? Actually, we lack in tools to secure these processes. In our view, drivers of EBPM expected by governments are still in a narrow, technical realm, simply because governments are not ready enough to accept and handle the participation of diverse citizens.

As mentioned, the Japanese government is currently adopting EBPM, including its plans for securing and cultivating the necessary personnel (EBPM Promotion Committee and Statistics Committee, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2018). One issue of debate is how to identify and recruit individuals who possess the knowledge and competencies for EBPM, primarily when assuming a broad definition of evidence, at both the central and municipal levels.

As suggested by our definition of inclusive policymaking, the involvement of ordinary citizens in the decision-making process is a critical element in implementing EBPM. To secure a diverse set of citizens to act as inclusive leaders and to steer us toward our goal of inclusive policymaking, we must first ensure means and tools through which citizens can obtain the basic knowledge needed for EBPM.

To empower underrepresented citizens to be inclusive leaders, it is essential that they have tools and programs to update their data-driven knowledge and handling skills over time. Therefore, our mission is to discuss the tools for everyone to acquire a wide variety of data-based evidence. The focus of this chapter is therefore on the provision of tools and on the usefulness of the tools we offer.

Specifically, “an understanding of the definitions of evidence and policy effect, knowledge of the models of evidence generated through use of statistical methods, and familiarity with specific instances in which evidence has been applied in the decision-making process,” is a critical social skill, and addressing it will open the way toward inclusive policymaking.

Today, in the increasing volume of information in society, many government statistics are available on “e-Stat,” and it is often assumed that basic statistics are easy to access. However, selecting information from the original statistics can be a great burden for nonspecialists in the field, given the need to choose the right statistics for the right purpose, the necessity of updating them, and the care required in handling them.

It is also important to be critical enough when using web search engines. Nowadays, it is easy to generate secondary and tertiary information by copying information. However, it can gradually become less accurate as superficial interpretations are added or important assumptions for estimation (often written in footnotes) are omitted.

In such a situation, it may become more difficult to access the most accurate (closest to primary) information. For example, the most visited sites on search engines may have a popularity but may not necessarily represent statistically accurate information.

Improved accessibility to the basic knowledge and information needed to implement EBPM would expand the number of citizens with active commitment to policymaking. We regard this movement as the foundation for inclusive society.

As faculty members of a women’s university, we are highly concerned about the low ratio of female participation in the policymaking process. As illustrated in Table 8.1, in 2014, the Japanese government established the fourth revised goal (Basic Plan for Gender Equality). One of the targets is to have roughly 30% or more of all leadership positions in all areas of society filled by women by the year 2020. However, the ratio of women to men in its legislative bodies is still one of the lowest in the world, ranking 120th in a list of 156 countries as of March 2021 in World Economic Forum.

The low participation in policymaking process may lead to decreased chances to access and learn public data and the derived evidence. Thus, we believe that an open-access and handy database are the necessary pieces to empower the literacy of underrepresented citizens.

The following sections in the chapter are organized as follows: The next section discusses why we need the Database for Empowerment for EBPM. We then introduce the structure and function of the database. Next, we discuss features and benefits in research from the database. Finally, we show an experiment targeted to

Table 8.1 Numerical targets and updated figures of the Fourth Basic Plan for Gender Equality (as of July 31, 2020)

<i>Target items</i>	<i>Target figures for 2020</i>	<i>Figures as of planning year</i>	<i>Updated figures</i>
Reformation of “men-oriented working styles” for women’s empowerment			
Percentage of male workers who take childcare leave			
National civil service	13% (2020)	3.1% (FY2014)	12.4% (FY2018)
Local civil service (Note 1)	13% (2020)	1.5% (FY2013)	5.6% (FY2018)
Private corporations	13% (2020)	2.3% (FY2014)	6.16% (FY2018)
Time spent on housework and related works by husbands in households with child(ren) aged under 6 (Note 2)	2 hrs. 30 mins. per day (2020)	67 mins. per day (2011)	83 mins. per day (2016)
Expansion of women’s participation in policy decision-making processes			
Proportion of women at each rank in national government positions			
Section chief at HQ or equivalent	30% (End of FY 2020)	22.2% (2015.7)	25.6% (2019.7)
Director at regional institution, assistant director at HQ or equivalent	12% (End of FY 2020)	8.6% (2015.7)	11.6% (2019.7)
Director at HQ or equivalent	7% (End of FY 2020)	3.5% (2015.7)	5.3% (2019.7)
Designated service or equivalent	5% (End of FY 2020)	3.0% (2015.11)	4.2% (2019.7)
Proportion of female members in national advisory councils and committees			
Members in national advisory councils and committees	Between 40% and 60% (2020)	36.7% (2015)	39.6% (2019)
Expert members in national advisory councils and committees	30% (2020)	24.8% (2015)	28.3% (2019)
Proportion of women at each rank in prefectural government positions			
Section chief or equivalent	30% (End of FY 2020)	20.5% (2015)	22.2% (2019)
Assistant director or equivalent	25% (End of FY 2020)	16.4% (2015)	19.6% (2019)
Director or equivalent	15% (End of FY 2020)	8.5% (2015)	11.3% (2019)
Department/bureau chief, deputy chief or equivalent	Approx. 10% (End of FY 2020)	4.9% (2015)	6.4% (2019)

(Continued)

Table 8.1 Continued

<i>Target items</i>	<i>Target figures for 2020</i>	<i>Figures as of planning year</i>	<i>Updated figures</i>
Proportion of women employed at each rank in private companies			
Section chief or equivalent	25% (2020)	16.2% (2014)	18.9% (2019)
Director or equivalent	15% (2020)	9.2% (2014)	11.4% (2019)
Department manager or equivalent	Approx. 10% (2020)	6.0% (2014)	6.9% (2019)
Proportion of female officers of listed companies	Aiming for 5% (initially), up to 10% (2020)	2.8% (2015)	5.2% (2019)
Securing equal opportunities and treatment between men and women and work-life balance			
Proportion of offices allowing shorter work hours (short-time regular employee system, etc.)	29% (2020)	14.8% (2014)	11.8% (2018)
Proportion of establishments with mental health care policies	100% (2020)	60.7% (2013)	59.2% (2018)
Number of companies that have obtained the Next-Generation Accreditation Mark (Kurumin) (Note 3)	3,000 (2020)	2,326 (2015)	3,312 (2020.3)

(Note 1) The method of calculation has changed since fiscal 2015 for national government employees and private sector companies. Therefore, these numbers cannot be directly compared with numbers obtained in fiscal 2014 and earlier.

(Note 2) Total hours (average per week) of housework, caring or nursing, childcare, and shopping performed by husbands in households of a couple with child(ren) aged under six.

(Note 3) “Companies that have obtained the Next-Generation Accreditation Mark (Kurumin)” are certified companies for their support of child rearing, based on the Law for Measures to Support the Development of the Next Generation.

female university students to identify an additional effect of using the database as the tool of data-driven evidence.

Why do we need the Database for Empowerment?

Structure and function of the database

Why are white papers and council documents important?

What kind of concrete information sources might provide this basic knowledge needed to implement EBPM? One important source comes from the government itself, especially through graphs and tables found in public records or in official publications.

The availability of government information in Japan, compared to other OECD countries, is low. Nikiforova and McBride (2021) reviewed the Open Government

Data of 41 OECD countries. With reference to the Global Open Data Index, the EU Open Data Maturity Report, the OECD's OURData (Open, Useful and Re-usable data) index, and the Open Data Barometer, Japan ranked 36th among 41 in data specification, 35th in feedback.

With that being said, we here stress the usefulness of some selected government publications such as white papers and council documents, among various public releases of information and statistics.

White papers and council documents are sources provided directly by the government as evidence for its policy evaluations and decisions regarding acknowledged social issues. We view that white papers store introductory information for policies, while council documents show the latest pros and cons of policies. The two sources are therefore critical for citizens' commitment to EBPM.

In Japan, a white paper is generally understood to refer to the annual report of the government. The materials named "White Papers" are government publications edited by the central government, and that their contents are intended to inform the public about the current state of political, economic, and social affairs and government policies. The main purpose of the white paper is to inform the public about the political, economic, and social situations and the current state of government policy.

Councils in governments are made up of a number of members appointed from industries and academia. The council documents show important concurrent matters from a professional standpoint. They are particularly effective in administrative transparency, coordination of the interests of all concerned, and the introduction of specialist knowledge. The Council's report is often guaranteed to be effective by a Cabinet decision, and has a major influence, particularly as a preliminary step in the formulation of administrative measures and Cabinet bills. In the case of appeals, the decisions are directly binding on the parties concerned, as well as on the ministries and agencies concerned.

Because of their public nature, we can expect them to exhibit some baseline facts. In addition, they provide important context, showing not only the current state of social issues but also their chronological evolution and relative importance across different nations or domestic regions.

To deepen dialogue on social issues among diverse groups of people, it is of course necessary to have a wide range of individuals expressing a wide range of experiences. However, it is also essential to equip those individuals with the capacity to express their experiences in a manner that is objective and relevant to others. We believe that the database of government white papers and council documents can serve as tools to foster that capacity.

The aim of our project is to build a data infrastructure for the effective use of statistical information in government white papers and council documents to help solve major social issues. The project will focus on the issues of advancing the presence of minorities and empowering gender equality.

As mentioned, government white papers and council documents are valuable chronological information resources that are directly linked to policymaking, but at present their provision system is not unified across ministries and the data are not sufficiently easy to handle. This is one of the reasons that Japanese government is ranked low among OECD countries about the openness of government data.

As a result, the citizens have missed the knowledge of statistics (primary sources) and indicators on which policies are based. Taking this information gap seriously, we have constructed an infrastructure to list the data figures and tables of white papers and council materials, also storing the original back data (spreadsheets) for those figures and tables.

With the “Database for Empowerment” we released in May 2020, about 106,000 figures and tables from 39 white papers and 5 council materials are stored (as of March 2022). First, we (1) make a list of searchable statistical tables and figures that serve as indicators as well as the basis for policies, (2) structure the back data into a spreadsheet, and (3) prepare specifications that allow for conditional searches. In addition, we offer (4) links to the latest statistical data (primary data) and (5) tools for updating charts and tables.

We consider mainly government white paper data and government council materials for each year since 2001 as the basic data. Even at present, these data are available in PDF format on the websites of various ministries and agencies. Some of them are also collected and linked on “e-Gov” (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications), “Data.Go.Jp” (Cabinet Secretariat), and “WARP (Web Archiving Project)” (National Diet Library). However, the PDFs of white papers and council documents are not easily extractable from search engines.

As a result, it is not possible to search the data retrospectively in chronological order or across ministries and agencies, even though the data are fundamental to policymaking. For example, “Data.Go.Jp” allows for simultaneous searches of administrative documents, but it requires the names of meetings and materials published by the ministries, so it is not possible to extract information based on the contents of the documents, such as data on figures and tables.

Table 8.2 shows an excerpt of the presentation of the figures and their data formats, using the White Paper on Gender Equality (Cabinet Office), the White Paper on Disabled People (Cabinet Office), the White Paper on Health, Labour and Welfare (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare), and the White Paper on Labour Economy (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare). The format of publication differs by ministry and year. Although some of them can be found by search engines, others are not listed even in the latest publications. The same happens for council documents in PDF format. Some files with specific figure names can be found by search engines, while other files with generic file names are missed.

The new database makes it possible to search for information on figures and tables in almost all White Papers and several Councils, regardless of the year of publication or format of configuration.

How to use the database

A feature of the database is that it exclusively searches for figures and tables in white papers and council documents. The format is standardized as “.gif” or “.pdf”. All figures and tables are identified by title, medium of publication, year of publication, source of data, and the range of data periods indicated in the figure or table.

Table 8.2 Form of publication of white papers

Ministry	White paper	Category	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Cabinet Office	White paper on gender equality	Main text	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Cabinet Office	White paper on gender equality	Abstract	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Cabinet Office	White paper on gender equality	Figures and tables	■	■	■	■	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Cabinet Office	White paper on disabled people	Main text	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Cabinet Office	White paper on disabled people	Abstract	○	◆	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Cabinet Office	White paper on disabled people	English	●	●	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Cabinet Office	White paper on disabled people	Figures and tables	□	◆	□	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	□	□	□	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Cabinet Office	White paper on disabled people	Multimedia																				◇
MHLW	White paper on labour and welfare	Main text	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

(Continued)

Table 8.2 Continued

Ministry	White paper	Category	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	
MHLW	White paper on health, labour and welfare	Abstract	●	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
MHLW	White paper on health, labour and welfare	Appendix	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
MHLW	White paper on health, labour and welfare	Figures and tables	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
MHLW	White paper on labour economy	Main text	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
MHLW	White paper on labour economy	Abstract	●	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
MHLW	White paper on labour economy	Appendix	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
MHLW	White paper on labour economy	Figures and tables	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■

●HTML
 ○PDF
 ■HTML+Excel
 □HTML+CSV
 ▲HTML+GIF+Excel
 △Excel
 ◆TXT Style
 ◇DAISY Style
 ▼CSV

The easiest way to use is to put in the subject or keywords we want to know about and use it just like a search engine of a website. The selected charts containing these keywords are listed and sorted in the order in which the user specifies (e.g., most recent data year).

Our selling point is that we are adding information that is missed by major search engines but is academically and practically important: the names of the publication, statistics or other data sources, and years shown in data figures.

For example, we allow users to enter the time period of the data, the year of publication of the white paper, and whether or not there are back data. We also allow them to enter the year in which the white paper was published, whether they have back data or not. We now cover 97% of all the white paper's figures and tables published between 2001 and 2020, with relevant tags for search.

The interesting feature about this database is that it has both old and new information, and so you can see whether the previous year's estimates were reasonable. It is easy to compare, easy to understand, easy to search, and easy to publish.

By searching for figures and tables, users can naturally become familiar with the names of the statistics and the methods used to calculate them. This search style of data is supported as a means of dialogue and as a means of education. Alhadad (2018) shows the importance of visualizing data as a means of practical communication, and as an insight for theoretical research methodology. He first shows the human capacity limitation in attention and in cognition. Then he experiments that data visualization in tables and figures supports inference-making in both domains. He also discusses that the practice of data visualization enhances independent, objective assessments by researchers, practitioners, and consumers of learning analytics.

Features and benefits from the database

Time-series search

White papers and council papers written by the ministries and agencies make use of the original, primary statistical database to show the current situation in Japan. The data contents go through cross-checking examination across government agencies to achieve a high level of accuracy.

For example, Figure 8.1 shows a time series of the female workforce participation rates by age group. For a long time, the "M-shaped curve" of the female working population in Japan, caused by the leave from the labor force during childbearing years, has been used in international comparisons. However, in the most recent statistics for 2019, the concavity of the M-shaped curve is becoming smaller and flatter, indicating that the number of women remaining in the labor force is increasing.

This graph in Figure 8.1, using the Labour Force Survey (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications) for each year as a primary source, is one of the most important statistical information.

It would take a great deal of time and effort for an individual to create such a graph from the original data of statistics from 2005 to 2019, but now the database

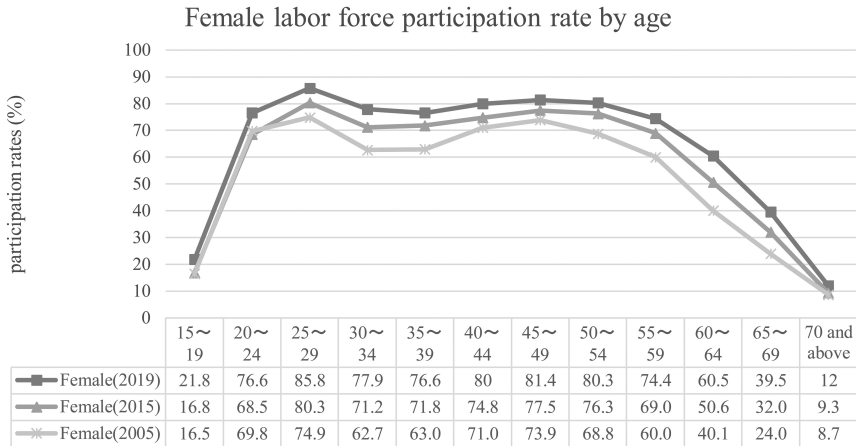


Figure 8.1 Female labor force participation rate by age

can provide the figure only by a search of a word “labor participation rate.” We can even trace the statistics back to the year 1978.

The availability to update with the latest information from government sources, which have the primary (original) data, is an important resource for capturing changes and analyzing factors as accurately as possible.

Cross-sectional search

Another key feature of the database is the ability to search across agencies and ministries. Atsuko Muraki, an ex-secretary general of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare and a visiting professor of Tsuda University, said it was a very eye-opening fact that the latest information on child abuse, which she had been involved in as an administrative officer for many years, had been released by the National Police Agency and not by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare.

For example, the number of consultations on child abuse received by Child Guidance Centers under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare was 134,000 in 2017, as shown in Table 8.3. Of these, 87.6% were perpetrated by biological parents (biological father: 40.7%, biological mother: 46.9%) (Source: “White Paper on Countermeasures for Decreasing Birthrate,” 2019, Cabinet Office).

On the other hand, in terms of the number of people arrested for child abuse, according to a survey conducted by the National Police Agency’s Life Safety Bureau, a different aspect of child abuse is revealed in Table 8.4. Out of a total of 2,024 cases, 72.3% involved biological parents (biological father: 45.1%,

Table 8.3 Trends in the number of consultations on child abuse at child guidance centers and breakdown of main abusers

	Biological father	Father other than biological father	Biological mother	Mother (other than biological mother)	Other	Total
1999	2,908	815	6,750	269	889	11,631
2000	4,205	1,194	10,883	311	1,182	17,775
2001	5,260	1,491	14,692	336	1,495	23,274
2002	5,329	1,597	15,014	369	1,429	23,738
2003	5,527	1,645	16,702	471	2,224	26,569
2004	6,969	2,130	20,864	499	2,946	33,408
2005	7,976	2,093	21,074	591	2,738	34,472
2006	8,220	2,414	23,442	655	2,592	37,323
2007	9,203	2,569	25,359	583	2,925	40,639
2008	10,632	2,823	25,807	539	2,863	42,664
2009	11,427	3,108	25,857	576	3,243	44,211
2010	14,140	3,627	34,060	616	3,941	56,384
2011	16,273	3,619	35,494	587	3,946	59,919
2012	19,311	4,140	38,224	548	4,478	66,701
2013	23,558	4,727	40,095	661	4,761	73,802
2014	30,646	5,573	46,624	674	5,414	88,931
2015	37,486	6,230	52,506	718	6,346	103,286
2016	47,724	7,629	59,401	739	7,082	122,575
2017	54,425	8,175	62,779	754	7,645	133,778

Source: White Paper on Measures for Society with Low Fertility (2019), Figure 2-2-7.

Table 8.4 Incidents of child abuse: Number of arrests (by relationship between victim and perpetrator, and by crime)

	Total number	Murder	Injury resulting in death	Assault	Arrest and confinement	Forced sexual intercourse	Indecent assault	Violation of the Child Welfare Law	Abandonment by a person responsible for the protection of a child	Gross negligence for manslaughter	Other	
All perpetrators	2,024	82	881	13	706	4	108	116	6	32	7	82
Fathers, etc.	1,448	18	632	8	504	4	107	112	5	10	4	52
Biological father	913	11	400	6	383	2	30	43	1	7	4	32
Adoptive father/stepfather	302	2	124	1	67	—	55	42	—	—	—	12
Mother's common-law husband	187	3	97	1	41	2	17	20	—	3	—	4
Other (male)	46	2	11	—	13	—	5	7	4	—	—	4
Mother, etc.	576	64	249	5	202	—	1	4	1	22	3	30
Biological mother	550	64	238	5	188	—	1	4	1	22	3	29
Adoptive mother/stepmother	10	—	5	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Father's common-law wife	5	—	1	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other (female)	11	—	5	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

1: Based on data from the Life Safety Bureau of the National Police Agency.

2 "Homicide," "abandonment of a responsible person," and "gross negligence manslaughter," all include cases of forced suicide and cases immediately after childbirth.

3 "Injury" refers to the aggravated types prescribed in Articles 1-2 and 1-3 of the Act on Punishment of Acts of Violence, etc., and "assault" refers to the aggravated types prescribed in Articles 1 and 1-3 of the same Act.

4 "Forced sexual intercourse, etc." includes rape prior to the amendment of the Penal Code by Act No. 72 of 2017.

5 "Others" of the perpetrators are grandparents, aunts and uncles, friends and acquaintances of the parents, etc. who are considered to be guardians.

6 "Other" in the offence names refers to the abduction of minors, violation of the Child Prostitution and Child Pornography Prohibition Law, etc.

biological mother: 27.2%) (Source: “White Paper on Crime,” Ministry of Justice, 2020 edition). The cases (damages) are categorized in detail, such as “injury,” “assault,” “indecent assault,” “negligence,” etc. Table 8.4 also points out that 24.1% of the cases are perpetrated by adoptive father/stepfather or mother’s common-law husband, but such cases are underrepresented in consultation stages. In Table 8.3, the percentage of fathers other than biological fathers as abusers is only 6.1%.

Ms. Muraki said that the release of information on the latter (number of crimes), as well as the high level of policy interest and the detailed categorization of the damage and the relationship between the perpetrator and the children, were insights that could not have been obtained from the MHLW survey alone.

Furthermore, she pointed out that the information on the cases and persons arrested revealed social problems that could not be seen just from the information on consultations at Child Guidance Centers. This presents a challenge for child guidance in the future.

Prof. Akira Yonezawa (Professor, Meiji Gakuin University), one of the many researchers who use the database, says that he appreciates that the database reminds him of presumptions and biases made unintentionally by researchers who are familiar with a particular statistic. The database prevents him from overlooking statistics that are different from his research field.

Visualized data for inference

Cappelle (2017) summarizes the ways through which data visualization amplifies cognition. He draws the work by Card et al. (1999) and Yi et al. (2008) and shows several features of visualization: (1) increased cognitive resources, (2) reduced search time for information, (3) enhanced recognition of trends and patterns, and (4) better matching of visual representation and a person’s mental model.

Visualization also enhances the data volume users can recognize. According to the review of literatures by Cappelle (2017), the larger and larger availability of data offers support for (1) strategic activities, by aggregating information on time series that inform and validate public actions; (2) tactical decisions, conceived as the evidence-informed actions that are needed to implement medium-term strategic decisions; (3) operational decisions, giving support to day-by-day decision-making activities in a short-term perspective.

The larger the availability of data, the bigger the chance it offers to implement experimental activities, which feed the policy design and implementation as well as enable collective learning processes. For example, Veeckman et al. (2017) examine how open data and their visualizations allow for effective citizen engagement and sensemaking, drawing from the experience of four European pilot studies in the OpenTransportNet project.

Dywer et al. (2014) conduct some psychological experiments on group decision-making in an educational setting with or without visualized materials. Though there are many limitations associated with group problem-solving

(e.g., as a result of an overreliance on heuristics, cognitive biases, and “group-think”), a fundamental skill for making decisions and solving problems is the ability to collectively visualize the fact and issues. They suggest that visualization tools and processes work not only for cooperation but also for independence of mind.

Retrospective view of policies

The top priority in designing the database is to cover all the figures and tables exhaustively, for us to search around different ministries and multiple years at the same time. Why are retrospective and cross-agency searches important? There are two reasons. First, white papers and council documents for each year show policy trends, because they present the rationale for major policy decisions at the time of their implementation in a simple way, reflecting the economic and social context of the time. Second, the process of comparing annually changing statistics and updated information with policy issues is itself a policy evaluation. Let us take a look at the titles of white papers, and check how the government has tackled with gender gap.

Table 8.5 shows the cover titles/themes of the two white papers mentioned above (White Paper on Gender Equality, and White Paper on Labour Economy) for each year. For example, the White Paper on Labour Economy of 2003 has already taken up the theme of “Diversification of Working Styles” in relation to “Reform of Working Styles,” which is currently attracting attention. As the years have progressed, there has been a gradual shift from titles such as “wages” and “employment,” which are based on the assumption that they were employed, to titles such as “human resources,” “labour productivity,” and “an active role for everyone.”

In addition, the “declining population society,” which is now becoming a precondition for many policies, was presented in the White Paper on Labour Economy in 2004 and discussed more comprehensively in recent years.

From the perspective of “women’s participation,” the white paper conducted a policy evaluation in 2009, the tenth anniversary of the enforcement of the Basic Law for Gender-Equal Society.

In 2014, under the title of “Changing Men’s Work and Life,” the idea that men’s work is a fundamental issue for women’s participation was presented for the first time. White papers and council documents are designed to explain and persuade stakeholders, so they are invaluable for looking back at the debates and policymaking processes of the past, for examining them in the present, and for charting policy trends for the future.

White papers on labour economy (2014, 2016) point out that the “low level of women’s professional skills” is a bottleneck to mitigating the gender gap in Japan. However, policymaking is not simple. In addition to direct forms of vocational training, there are other important indirect means for women to enhance their vocational skills. These include policies such as changing the divided gender role of men and women so that women can find time for work outside the home.

Table 8.5 Titles of white papers (Gender Equality 2001–2020, Labour Economy 2001–2019)

<i>FY</i>	<i>Cover titles of the white paper for gender equality</i>	<i>Cover titles of the white paper for labour economy</i>
2020	Balancing “work” and “housework/ childcare/caregiving”—How do individuals, households, and society face the issue?	
2019	Enrichment of education and learning enabling diverse choices	Challenges facing Japan: Work styles and labour shortages
2018	Active role of women in sports and men and women’s health support	Ideal human resource development that varies according to diversified work styles
2017	Utilizing the act to promote women’s participation to accelerate and expand the advancement of women	Challenges for promoting innovations and realizing work–life balance
2016	Towards accepting diverse work styles and lifestyles	Realization of a society where everyone can play an active role and challenges for enhancement of labour productivity
2015	Women’s active roles will revitalize Japan’s regions	Diversification of employment patterns and working life
2014	Males’ work and life in transition	Maximizing the potential of human resources
2013	Toward active participation of women as the core of growth strategies	Employment, human resources and working methods in the context of structural change
2012	Disaster prevention and reconstruction from a gender equal society perspective - Lessons from the Great East Japan Earthquake -	The challenge of restoring a strong middle class
2011	Promotion of “Positive Action”—Aiming to attain the target of “30% by 2020”	Trends in work and employment management by generation
2010	The active participation of women and revitalization of economy and society	Changes in industrial society and trends in employment and wages
2009	Ten years since the basic law for a gender-equal society came into force	Trends in wages, prices and employment and working people’s lives
2008	Women’s activities in local communities: Evolution of gender equality through practical activities	Workers’ awareness and trends in employment management
2007	The state of gender equality in international comparison	Work-life balance and the employment system
2006	Gender equality and countermeasures for falling birthrates are closely connected to each other	Diversification of employment patterns and working life
2005	Development of science and technology and gender equality	Challenges for labour policy in a declining population

(Continued)

Table 8.5 Continued

<i>FY</i>	<i>Cover titles of the white paper for gender equality</i>	<i>Cover titles of the white paper for labour economy</i>
2004	Progress towards a gender-equal society and current situation	-
2003	The state of gender equal society in international comparison	Economic and social changes and the diversification of working styles
2002	The state of the formation of a gender-equal society by prefecture	Recent trends in employment and unemployment and their background
2001	Towards the realization of a gender-equal society	Information and communication technology (IT) innovation and employment

Empowerment and opinion formation

For better participation in policymaking, both the supply of data and the users' trust in transparent public administrations are highlighted in the literature. We will summarize previous research on how data-driven policymaking and citizens' political participation have been promoted.

Castelnovo et al. (2015) measure what makes a public governance smart. They propose shifting the focus of assessment from the performance of public services to the process of social innovation that allows citizens to coproduce public values. For this goal, they propose a holistic assessment framework for governance in pursuing sustainable and participatory public values. They point out that the pervasive role of data references is discussed as fundamental for sustainable participation. Homberg and Susa (2018), in addition, state the importance of an integrated data ecosystem of private and public data resources.

Loerman (2007) states that the research question for inclusive decision-making moved from "Why?" to "How?." There is a consensus on why inclusive decision-making is necessary, but still a lack of methodology on the "How to." Based on the results of an online survey of more than 50 data scientists from all over the world, Raineri and Molinari (2021) highlight citizen science, design thinking, and accountability as triggers of civic engagement and participation that can bring a community of "knowledge intermediaries" into the daily discussion on data-supported policymaking.

However, Webster and Leleux (2018) point out that the normative concept of "citizen engagement" is a nuanced term, shaped by a variety of contexts and situations, with tensions emerging whenever citizens and governments do not have a shared interest in working together. They therefore suggest that "technologically mediated governance arrangements and practices" are in pressing need, before

promoting voting or collecting opinions. In the same manner, Vlachou (2004) points out that organizational efforts are fraught with multiple difficulties, dilemmas, and contradictions that often result into piecemeal or sequential reforms. Seidelin et al. (2020) state that cross-organizational data maintenance entails arrangements of data that are dependent on updated and accurate data. Consequently, it requires a lot of manual labor, that is, people interacting with the data through the different stages of the maintenance process.

On the other hand, in order to solve this incompleteness of government data, some scholars argue that people's problem-solving skills should be improved through education and training.

Lněnička et al. (2021) state that data users' participation and collaborations are important processes for enhancing the transparency of the contents data. They classify steps of actions through which data transparency is achieved: citizens learn and explore, search and filter, select and download, analyze and link, visualize and interact, evaluate and discuss, feedback and report, request and suggest, and share and publish. Twindale et al. (2013) discuss practical approaches of data literacy for greater civic participation, including among high school students. Ooijen et al. (2019) and Verbiest (2014) introduce trial projects to derive competencies (skills, knowledge, attitudes) of data-wise or data-literate school leaders. They state that the problem-solving capacity and attitude of school leaders play a decisive role, rather than skill and knowledge.

Ooijen et al. (2019) state that governments should interact with citizens and businesses, carrying out the dual role of data provider and data consumer. It means that governments contribute to the production evaluation, correction and mashing-up of data in ways that create values for others by guaranteeing the quality, usefulness, and relevance of data. Such data "prosumption," according to Ooijen et al. (2019), redefines the relationship between the actors, creating a public value proposition where stakeholders and government can engage in more openly participative, proactive, and empowering relationships in areas of policymaking, service design, and community building.

The United Kingdom's "An introduction to Open Policy Making and Design" (2016) released from the Cabinet Office highlights such interactive data visualization. They say it helps to make conceptual issues real in ways that can be presented for different audiences and that provide specific entry points to engage stakeholders in contributing potential solutions. Additionally, by making data accessible and understandable, it moves the conversation beyond the realm of experts and can increase levels of engagement by all.

How does the database enhance the data-driven literacy?

Design of the experiment

How does the database change the way to search for and discuss diversity and inclusion (D&I) topics? Does the database then enhance the data-driven literacy? To investigate these questions, we conduct experiments by RCT (randomized controlled trial).

Under three-times assignments to write short essays on D&I topics (child abuse, childcare leave, dementia, elderly employment, digital divide and telework: two topics per assignment) we test whether the students (69 students out of 138) who are instructed to use the database in the first introductory lecture prefer to cite primary sources.

We also investigate the diversity of the data sources in essays and the types of statements (descriptive and factual statements, or prescriptive and value-based statements). The control group (69 students out of 138) is instructed to use the database in the second lecture. Two groups therefore differ in the timing of the introduction to the database. These 3-week assignment trials were conducted in the author's lecture in September 2021. The subject (Introduction to Economics) is a required subject for freshmen, and dropout rates are very small (two students per group) and indifferent between the two groups. We explain the structure of experiments in Table 8.6. In the third experiment, we did not set any restrictions on sources and observe the difference between the two groups.

Results

In Table 8.7, we classify the category of citations students used as data-based evidence. In 8.7-Week1, we see that the students who are introduced to the database (DB hereafter) cite government statistics more (primary sources are 43 for students without DB, 111 for students with DB). In addition, with the DB, students cite corporate websites less (43 without DB, 12 with DB). The noteworthy difference is that the students with the DB (from the first lecture) cite more data figures than students without the DB (127 without DB, 149 with DB).

Moreover, from 8.7-Week2, students in the treatment group keep their preference to cite government statistics (primary sources) (111 in Week1, 111 in Week2). They also cite more data figures than students without the DB (127→141 without DB, 149→181 with DB).

Table 8.6 Brief report requested for each D&I related topic

<i>Brief report requested for each D&I related topic</i>	<i>Week1</i>	<i>Week 2</i>	<i>Week 3</i>
	: <i>child abuse</i>	: <i>dementia</i>	: <i>digital divide</i>
	: <i>childcare leave</i>	: <i>elderly employment</i>	: <i>telework</i>
Search Engines are instructed first (Google, Bings, etc.)	Search Engines are instructed for data search	Empowerment database is instructed for data search	No restrictions for search tools
Empowerment DB is instructed first (Treatment group)	Empowerment database is instructed for data search	Search Engines are instructed for data search	No restrictions for search tools

Table 8.7 Sources of reference data (count of figures and tables) in assignments (Week1–Week3)

8.7 Week1		8.7-Week2		8.7-Week3		8.7-Week3		Week 3 Assignment (Essays on Telework)	
Week 1 assignment (Essays on child abuse)		Week2		Week3		No Search Restrictions		Control Treatment	
Control	Treatment	DB is guided for control group		Week3		No Search Restrictions		Control	Treatment
<i>DB is guided for treatment group</i>		Search Engines	DB	DB	Search Engines			<i>no search restrictions</i>	
<i>Child abuse</i>				<i>Dementia</i>				<i>telework</i>	
Local newspapers	1	1	0	Local newspapers*	12	Local Newspapers	0	2	
National newspapers	15	13	1	National newspapers*	19	National Newspapers*	2	14	
Other newspapers	1	0	0	Other newspapers	0	Other Newspapers	0	0	
Business magazines	4	3	0	Business magazines	0	Business Magazines	2	5	
General magazines	0	0	0	General magazines	0	General Magazines	0	0	
News service	1	1	0	News service	0	News Service	0	0	
News aggregators	0	0	0	News aggregators	0	News Aggregators	1	3	
Other Internet news	6	6	0	Other Internet news	0	Other Internet News	14	7	
TV/Radio news	1	1	0	TV/Radio news	0	TV/Radio News	3	5	
Corporate sites	43	12	10	Corporate sites*	33	Corporate Sites*	27	13	
Blogs	1	0	0	Blogs	0	SNS	0	0	
International	1	1	2	Other public institutions	0	Other public institutions	0	2	
Local governments	8	0	1	Local governments*	15	Local Governments	4	5	
No citations	2	0	3	No citations	0	No citations	1	1	
National governments	43	111	124	National governments	111	National Governments	68	90	
Total references	127	149	141	Total references*	181	Total References	122	147	
Citations per report	1.84	2.16	2.04	Citations per report	2.62	Citations per Report	1.77	2.13	

Therefore, with introduction of the empowerment database at the onset of assignments, we observe the statistical difference that the students in the treatment group become more knowledgeable for data/figure search.

We also note other noteworthy differences. With the introduction of the empowerment database, students prefer positive analysis to normative analysis for “child abuse” and “dementia,” but we do not observe differences in “childcare leave” and “elderly employment.” We believe that, for relatively unfamiliar topics, students become cautious about their opinions when they browse government data/figures. We also find the tendency that the instruction (nudge) of search tools plays an important role for the students to be positive or normative for policy topics.

Our experiments are still in the early stage. The analysis is a group-based analysis (RCT) so far, without concerning the individual-level variations. We would next investigate an individual choice-based analysis (nested-logit model etc.). The analysis so far focuses only on the type of report, not the quality (scores) of the report. The next question is whether the nudge to use the DB will deepen the analytical skills of students.

Similarly, it is also important to investigate how students are motivated to express ideological, opinion-oriented statements, in addition to some fact-finding comments.

Conclusion: how does the database empower inclusive policymaking

Among the many government publications, we found the most inclusive value in the charts and graphs, which show the issues and predictions for society quantitatively, as well as the nature and effect of the policies to address them. We have therefore opened to the public a database of figures and tables that can be searched comprehensively for the past 20 years. By providing a wider range of carefully processed information through white papers and council documents, we may contribute to increase the frequency of the PDCA (Plan, Do, Check and Action) cycles and the number of people involved and included in policymaking.

The database is easy for nonspecialists to search for information and is a tool for many citizens to participate in policymaking. The database is also highly regarded by government and research experts as a tool to prevent information from being overlooked or biased by specialist knowledge. We would update the database to enrich the matching of phrases for search and the topics/issues the users want. Now the language for search is limited to Japanese, we plan to add-on translated tags for frequently used keywords.

We would also proceed with practices for civic engagement. Our trials are ongoing in university lectures. Kjølvik and Schultheis (2019) view data literacy as vital assets for students for future careers and productive lives. We worked with students for data-centric classroom activities, where the activities are more complex when difficulties in data (scope, selection, curation, size, messiness) increase.

The cross-search of all the major white papers and the availability of the original data of the tables in Excel format made it possible for the students to combine figures from different tables and to display them side by side in a very short time. As a result, most of the lecture time and self-preparation time could be spent on interpreting the figures and understanding the background to the figures, rather than on drawing graphs. This enables lecturers to cover more topics and statistics than in classes without the database.

The practices of database-driven educational programs in higher education discussed in the section “How does the database enhance the data-driven literacy?” suggest the feasibility of an enhanced policymaking environment. If decision-making by underrepresented groups becomes more sophisticated by using data-driven evidence more effectively, the explanatory power of their opinions will be empowered, or rationally persuasive.

The accumulation of such practices will enable the development of technical innovations for the database itself. It provides us with important hints to improve the usability of the database. Gray et al. (2018) argue that data literacy initiatives might cultivate sensibilities not only for data science but also for data sociology, data politics, as well as wider public engagement with digital data infrastructures. They define “data infrastructure literacy” as an addition to “data literacy.” In addition to reading and working competencies with datasets, they value the ability to account for, and to participate in the wider socio-technical environments through which data are created, stored, and analyzed. Moreover, Maffei et al. (2020) point out that datafication is changing the relationship between governments and citizens, and the way governments address policy problems. Nowadays, policymakers are urged to harness data for policies and public service design, while answering at the same time the demand for citizen engagement; as a consequence, innovative government/governance models appeared to connect these two activities.

In the future, we would like to disseminate the database to both ministries and citizens, and to improve it through more user reviews.

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9 Promoting diversity and inclusion in higher education

Insights from Japanese women leaders at Tsuda University

Yuko Takahashi (Translated by Geoffrey Pierce)

Introduction

I interviewed three graduates from Tsuda University as a member of the Oral History Project, a research activity conducted for the Diversity Center for Inclusive Leadership (DCfIL). They were in their eighties, nineties, and over a hundred years old, respectively, and all three mentioned Fujita Taki, a former president of Tsuda University, as their memorable mentor several times.

Fujita Taki participated in the women's suffrage movement before the war, and after the war, she was active as the director of the Women's and Minor's Bureau of the Ministry of Labor (1951–1955). She was involved with a variety of NGOs, but one of her most notable activities related to higher education was becoming the first president of the Association of University Women and contributing to the elevation of women's colleges to the status of universities. In addition, as the fourth president of Tsuda College (1962–1973), she was instrumental in establishing the Department of International and Cultural Studies and the Graduate School. In the international arena, she represented the government at the 12th UN General Assembly in 1957. In 1975, after retiring from the presidency of Tsuda University, Fujita participated in the International Women's Year World Conference held in Mexico as the chief representative of the Japanese government while she was the president of the Women's Affairs Council. Furthermore, in 1984, as the chairperson of the Women's and Minor's Affairs Council, she handed over the report on the outline of the bill related to the Equal Employment Opportunity Law to the minister of labor. (At that time, Akamatsu Ryoko was in charge of the bill as the director of both the Women's and Minor's Bureau and the Women's Bureau.)

I still vividly recall a lecture given by Fujita Taki that I attended in the last summer of my twenties. I can remember the classroom and even where I sat. Although I had already learned about her significant contributions through reading her autobiography, this was the first time I had seen her in person. The talk, held as part of a Tsuda University class called *Sougo* ("General"), was titled, "My Journey." In her talk, she also mentioned how she came to be in a wheelchair. This lecture had such an impact on me because I was deeply impressed by the strength of her continued international activities even after becoming seriously

injured. I was just overwhelmed by her courage, passion, and aspiration to overcome any difficulties and move forward.

The purpose of this chapter is to make selected sources of both Fujita Taki's voice and voices on Fujita, originally recorded and transcribed in Japanese, available in English. The first is a lecture given by Fujita herself; the second is taped recordings of the author's own interview with Fujita; and the third is a symposium on Fujita Taki, that is, a collection of excerpts from the transcribed recordings of voices on the topic of Fujita, from prominent graduates who knew her, in order to highlight her profile.¹ By tracing Fujita's footsteps, I would like to show how an outstanding leader in the field of higher education promoted women's participation in society and implemented activities that became the forerunner of diversity, which has become a social norm today. At the same time, I would like to highlight her leadership in the value of inclusion by illustrating how she continued to impact mainstream society even after suffering an accident that forced her to live in a wheelchair.



Figure 9.1 Fujita Taki

I was fortunate to find that the university had kept a tape recording of this lecture. The lecture had been held on July 9, 1987. I was able to transcribe Fujita Taki's lecture, so I also put her voice into text form as part of the Oral History Project. The main parts of the lecture are described below (Figure 9.1).

From Fujita Taki's lecture: "My Past Life"

Experiences after the Pacific War

Fujita Taki describes her experiences at Tsuda College after the Pacific War in detail. Of particular interest is how she reflects on the impact of post-war social changes on women and her own involvement in the international arena.

August 15th, 1945. Hoshino Ai-sensei was the president of the school, and we all listened to the Imperial Rescript in front of the radio. Then Hoshino-sensei said, "Until now, we have not been able to study because of the war. Studies have been totally neglected. You had to work in munitions factories, but not after today, not anymore. Rest well for the next three days. From the fourth day, delve into your studies, as you were supposed to." But the government didn't feel that way, did it? It was quite bad. With the American soldiers coming and not knowing what would happen to the girls, we were told to go back home. After that, we were not able to study again for many months, but Tsuda rose again, as you know.

Defeat. It's a very painful thing, isn't it? But what came with the defeat was what we women had been demanding and waiting for—suffrage. The right to one vote. Here now, doing a very important job, Honma-san. Is he the Secretary General now? [...] His father was the man who had done such a good job in setting up this school. At Tsuda, before the war, there were only two people who were able to cast a single vote: Mr. Honma and Mr. Yamazaki, who handled the electrical work. Neither President Hoshino, who had policy-making responsibilities in an educational institution, nor any of us, had the right to a single vote.

MacArthur said on the plane to Japan that the first thing he was going to do when he got there was to give Japanese women the right to vote. It was about giving them one single vote. He said that women's suffrage had had a positive effect in the United States. The first thing he did in Japan was to give the women of Japan the right to vote, not just limited civil rights, but the right to suffrage. For good or ill, regardless of the good or ill of MacArthur's politics, we must acknowledge that.

Formally, the Japanese cabinet made the decision and enacted it. "Forgetting for a moment the pain of defeat, going to the polls in a shower of blossoms." Those were our truly heartfelt words. "Forgetting for a moment the pain of defeat, going to the polls in a shower of blossoms." Even though this campus is still beautiful, when I used to live here the flowering quince were beautiful, the silver and golden orchids were beautiful, and when the cherry blossoms were in full bloom, it was truly indescribable! The cherry

blossoms themselves are still the same. However, there are fewer and fewer quince, gentians, and silver and golden orchids. I just saw them again today on my way here. There are a lot of daylilies in bloom, though.

We went in *monpe*. But that's the time when voting rights started. Because we lost the war. I think the Tsuda students were incredible. At that time, there were many posters and signs, and I often read in the newspapers, "The suffrage I received is boring." Then a sign at Tsuda read, "*Gibun? Howai natto yuujitto.*" [Given? Why not use it?] There was a poster with that on it. I thought it was very good. With this democratization, Tsuda was like a phoenix, that bird that never dies. It rose like a phoenix.

The Association of University Women and the elevation of women's colleges to universities

Fujita speaks about the creation of the Association of University Women and the elevation of women's colleges to universities. The roles played by Ai Hoshino and Michi Kawai, graduates of Tsuda College and Bryn Mawr College, respectively, are mentioned below.

Various reforms were made in every possible way. The suffrage I just mentioned. But then ... so many members of the House of Representatives were elected at once. One more thing I would like to mention here is that everyone already knows that Tsuda stood up. For example, the University Women's Association was established at this time. Those of us who had studied in the United States thought that when the war was over, we could go back to the American Association of University Women, the United States, because we were graduates of Bryn Mawr. But the window to the outside was closed. For many years. We couldn't breathe in even a little outside air, so interacting with the outside world was something we very much wanted to do. Me and the University Women's Association. Naturally, we thought we were going to go back to the College Association, to the United States, but I was told that people from that enemy country, that defeated country, Japan, could not go back. Couldn't go back. So, we thought, why not make a Japanese version?

However, there were no universities, were there? Although there were *senmon-gakko* (professional colleges), there were no full-fledged universities for women. But we got the schools that could become universities together right away. Ochanomizu, Japan Women's University, Tsuda, Nara, Kobe College, Doshisha, Sacred Heart, and Tokyo Women's University. All of us got together. Being from Tsuda, if I do say so myself, placed us at the center, and I was one of the most central figures. This is because I and Jodai-san of Japan Women's University were with a Holmes-san, who was working with the U.S. military. A leading figure in the American Association of University Women, Dr. Lulu Holmes worked extremely hard. We were taught by her. We took guidance from her and started the University Women's Association.

We thought that these *senmon-gakko* would soon be able to become universities, but before and during the war, Hoshino-sensei had often told the Ministry of Education to recognize Tsuda as a full-fledged university, pointing out that among men's universities there were many of much lower quality that had been recognized. However, the Ministry of Education refused to accept it. They did not approve. So, we worked very hard with this Dr. Lulu Holmes. Hoshino-sensei and Kawai Michi-sensei were frequently summoned to the Ministry of Education. They were summoned by the military.

There's a story about this. Hoshino-sensei was sitting on a chair in the cold corridor of the Ministry of Education, eating the meager lunch she had brought with her. A phone call came, asking if someone named Hoshino Ai was there. There was a military man by the name of [...] waiting very patiently for her. He said that he had invited Hoshino-san for lunch but that she had not shown up. She had totally forgotten about this lunch invitation. She was supposed to have a feast but ate her *obento* lunch. The same thing happened to Kawai Michi-sensei. Kawai Michi-sensei forgot about it, too. They had both shrugged off the military's delicious feast and were eating cold lunches. That's a story to raise the stature of women's universities.

So, the purpose of creating the Japan Association of University Women was to raise the status of women's education. (... to provide the same opportunities to women ... the opportunity for education.) So, what I demanded of the members of what would become the Japan Association of University Women was, for example, that the libraries be equipped with enough books. Then, get some good women in the professor's camp. Since liberal arts subjects and general education subjects were lacking in Japanese *senmon-gakko*, more general education subjects should be taught. Also, the size of the campus and buildings must be at least a certain size per student. We decided that we would accept students from professional colleges that met these requirements and started the Association of University Women with eight other university women's associations.

That's when Dr. Holmes helped a lot. She invited Jodai-san and me to the United States in 1949, which was quite early on. When Jodai-san, of Japan Women's University, and I arrived that snowy day, Dr. Holmes had been waiting at the station for five or six hours for the delayed train to arrive. Dr. Holmes, who was a professor at the University of Washington, came and took us to her house. That night, she slept in her own sleeping bag, letting us sleep on the bed. So, there were people like that in the U.S. when we lost the war. I think we must acknowledge that when evaluating our losses.

The contribution of women within the Women's and Minor's Bureau of the Ministry of Labor

Another thing I would like to mention is the Women's and Minor's Bureau of the Ministry of Labor. The Women's and Minor's Bureau of the Ministry of Labor has produced many of the most prominent women in Japan. It's the only bureau. The director was always a woman. Unfortunately, I should

admit that the Women's and Minor's Bureau of the Ministry of Labor was a product of the American Occupation Forces. I think it played an important role in the democratization of Japan. You may often hear the name of Tanino Setsu-san, who became the Director General of the Women's and Minor's Bureau of the Ministry of Labor after me, but she was in the Ministry of Health and Welfare at that time. There was a Ministry of Health and Welfare in Japan. She was the first woman supervisor of workers at the Ministry of Health and Welfare in Japan. The Ministry of Health and Welfare existed then, but the Ministry of Labor had not existed before the war. The Ministry of Labor was created by the military, and the Women's and Minor's Bureau within the Ministry was, naturally, also created by the military.

Traffic accident and rehabilitation

Fujita recounts how she was paralyzed in a car accident and emphasizes both the burden placed on women who work in healthcare support at low wages and the importance of employment for the disabled.

Now, jumping ahead to when my car accident happened. I don't look so good now. On October 30, 1971, near Takayama in Hida, the car plunged from the top of a mountain into the middle of a valley. I didn't fall all the way down because I got caught in a big tree in the middle. So, it was really a matter of life and death. I'll tell you what I felt when I was there, after all that I went through. Now I have, how do I say this, partial paralysis. Don't think that wholeness is anything to be desired. Sometimes partiality is good, and mine is partial paralysis, so I can eat a little and walk a little, but that's the name of the condition, partial paralysis. I have a spinal cord injury.

The reason I was able to heal was because of the care, the nursing, these very important things. I was in St. Luke's, I was in the big hospital in Yugawara, and what I felt, especially in Yugawara, was that the caregivers were almost all women. This is one women's issue, but almost all of them were women. Wives and mothers. Then again, it is always the women who work for very little money. It is all women carrying the burden of the handicapped. They slept on the floor between the beds, in a terrible place, and they cared for the patients under terrible conditions.

Care. No matter what, Japan needs to think more seriously about care for the disabled and the bedridden elderly. It's no use talking with the elderly about this now. Young people need to start thinking about this, as they will eventually be responsible for the elderly. True welfare projects that do not place too much of a burden on the young should be implemented. Not even letting them drink water, just because it is hard to manage everything; the elderly, the handicapped, strapped to their beds at 6:00 p.m. and kept like that until the morning—such a state of affairs is unacceptable. Compared with those people I was really, I was (lucky).

Another thing that needs to be said, no matter what, is about work for the disabled. This means re-employment for the disabled. I was put in a very good situation and had two wonderful caregivers who stayed with me every other day and took extremely good care of me. I was grateful but I felt that it was more than I deserved, so I did my best to hide the fact that there were two caregivers with me.

But then one day ... holding on to the parallel bars for days and days, then one step, two steps, three steps, a young man in his forties was practicing, and the day came when that man could finally walk. He could finally walk. I was so happy and congratulated him. I was so happy. I had had a lot of visitors to my place, and a lot of beautiful roses in my room. I sent someone to get the roses from my room. I gave the man a rose and said, "Congratulations." And there, in that moment, the expression of joy at being able to walk completely disappeared from his face. Would he ever really be able to walk again? The most important thing is to know when you will be able to find another job. We can't provide jobs for all disabled people, but we can provide jobs for those who can work.

Post-rehabilitation activities: Attending the World Women's Congress in Mexico as a government representative and becoming president of the Tsuda Juku Kai and president of the Tsuda School of Business

As I said, I was injured in 1971, and left Tsuda, and since then I have worked very hard on rehabilitation. But I thought there was nothing more left to do, nothing more to go on. I thought there was nothing in store for me at all, then suddenly it happened to me, like it just came to me, The delegation to Mexico in 1975. I was selected as a delegate from Japan to the World Conference. Then I came back home, and at Tsuda, they made me the chair of the board of Tsuda Juku-kai, the principal of Tsuda School of Business, president of Tsuda Juku-kai. After that, I was pulled into various jobs, and today, I am here.

I recently had a thank you party, but what I have today is my teachers, my seniors, and all of you. Thanks to all the people who came after me, last year I was able to celebrate my *beijuu* (88th) birthday. As I said at my 88th birthday celebration, I—who must look like a very big old fossil to all you newcomers—would like to thank you very much for inviting me. I will conclude my talk here.

From the interview with Fujita Taki

Fujita's voice I recorded during my graduate student days

A year and a half later, on January 12, 1989, I attempted to interview Fujita. When I was conducting research by reading Tsuda Umeko's letters at Tsuda College's Tsuda Umeko Archives, Ms Yasuko Hirata, who was in the archives at the time, pushed

me to do an interview. I was also able to revive this tape by transcribing it. The following are some of the core extracts. This section illustrates how Fujita Taki, who had had contact with Tsuda Umeko, perceived Tsuda's educational philosophy.

How Fujita, who had met Tsuda Umeko in person before her death, remembered her

Takahashi: What kind of image do you have of Tsuda Umeko as an educator?

Fujita: She was a strict teacher, and as well as making demands on herself, she also told the students that they had to study very hard, and although the school was very small, typical for those days, it was rare.

... It's written in the biography, but Tsuda-sensei had also hung a map of Japan in her office and had designated places on it, with a thing which used to be called a marking pin, maybe you wouldn't know?

Takahashi: I know.

Fujita: A national flag was attached to each marking pin.

Takahashi: I didn't know that.

Fujita: There were pins all over the map. They were towns where a graduate was teaching, or something like that. At that time, Tsuda-sensei thought that for a woman to be strong, she had to be independent and financially capable, and the only way to do that in Japan at the time was to be a teacher. The only thing a woman could do was to teach, she thought, so all she could do was to give the Japanese girls all the power that she could, and then they could take up work. She thought it was the only way, and that's why she worked so hard to teach, so that the students could study; it was something that everyone should do, and those who came to Tsuda should study to death. By doing so, she taught them to have economic independence and, best of all, to become English teachers. Because there was nothing else to do after graduation, there was no work. Just become a teacher.

“Succeeding Globally: Six People in Various Fields Talk about the Pioneer, Fujita Taki”

The centennial of Tsuda College, the Tsuda Umeko Archives, and the symposium

I was fortunate enough to start working at Tsuda College in 1997. As the college was preparing to celebrate its 100th anniversary in 2000, I had the opportunity to be involved in various projects related to the history of the school and its graduates, in addition to my research on Tsuda Umeko. As the head of the Tsuda Umeko Archives, I was also involved in the collection of college history, alumnae materials, and artifacts. As a part of this work, the Tsuda Umeko Archives received the belongings of Fujita Taki, and in response to this, the Archives planned a symposium to talk about her. This was the 2002 event, “Succeeding Globally: Six People in Various Fields Talk about the Pioneer, Fujita Taki.”

The panelists were Akamatsu Ryoko, Arima Makiko, Kubota Manae, Moriyama Mayumi, Nakamura Michi, and Uchida Michiko. As of 2021, Moriyama Mayumi is the only woman to have served as Chief Cabinet Secretary. At the time of this event, Moriyama was the Minister of Justice. In addition, Akamatsu had previously served as the Minister of Education and Kubota as the Director General of the Economic Planning Agency. Nakamura and Uchida, who were close to Fujita at college and in their personal lives, also spoke about the appeal of Fujita Taki from various angles. Arima was a pioneering journalist who attended all the world conferences on women as a reporter. In this section, I would like to introduce excerpts from Fujita's time as Director of the Women's and Minor's Bureau, in particular, as well as her activities in attending international meetings.

From the Symposium: "Succeeding Globally: Six People in Various Fields Talk about the Pioneer, Fujita Taki"

Self-introduction—choosing to attend Tsuda College and meeting Fujita Taki

Akamatsu: I had heard of Fujita-sensei even before I entered Tsuda Juku. The reason why I decided to join Tsuda Eigaku Juku (or Tsuda Juku Senmon Gakko, as it was called in my day) was because of Fujita-sensei's name. There was a senior from my girls' high school, a graduate of Tsuda Juku, and when I was thinking about where to apply, whether I should consider Tsuda Juku, and wondering what kind of people Tsuda Juku graduates were, I asked her. I was already quite a feminist then, in today's terms. I don't think the word "feminist" even existed at that time, but I considered myself a feminist. My senior told me that there was a teacher named Fujita Taki at Tsuda Juku, who was also the vice president of the League for Women's Suffrage.

At that time, the war was going on, and the League for Women's Suffrage had been dissolved. The League was the first women's movement that took a leading role in Japan, was led by Ichikawa Fusae, and I was well aware of it. And Fujita-sensei is vice president of the League for Women's Suffrage? I thought, "Well, that's great, and if there are such graduates and such teachers, I'll go" I think that was the first reason why I chose Tsuda.

After that, I entered Tsuda Juku, and although I think I was quite cocky and selfish while I was there, they allowed me to graduate anyway. After that, I graduated from the University of Tokyo and entered the Ministry of Labor. When I joined the Ministry of Labor, the head of the Women's and Minor's Bureau was Fujita-sensei, and I think she was the one who let me in. I had passed the civil service exam, so I was not hired entirely through the personal connection, but I think she was the one who took me in. I'm sure I caused a lot of trouble at the Women's and Minor's Bureau, too. Moriyama-senpai was an honor student, so she wasn't like that at all, but I think I was a bit

unruly. But Fujita-sensei took very good care of me, and while I did think a little that I might become the head someday, in the end, unbelievably, I did!

Also, when I was doing work for the United Nations, in fact, Fujita-sensei was the first representative sent to the United Nations after Japan became a member. She was a dazzling presence to me. I thought, “A woman from Japan is going to a UN conference, and she’s my mentor!” I was so happy. Then, 30 years later, I became a member of the UN as a delegate to the Third Committee of the General Assembly and was able to sit at the seat where Fujita-sensei had been. I was very proud to think that this was the seat she had occupied. In that way, I was able to walk after many things. Fujita-sensei was soaring around the world, and it was like I was following right behind her with my little wings.

Kubota: I entered this English Studies School, Tsuda Juku, the year after the attack on Pearl Harbor and got separated when the war ended, as a member of the 44th graduating class. For me, Tsuda Juku was not a place where I studied very much, and with no graduation ceremony we became a separated family. And yet, even now, there is still some kind of centripetal force at work in me. Why is that? Well, there is the beautiful nature and the graceful Hartshorne Hall, but the person at the center of it all, for me, is Fujita-sensei.

I lived in the Japanese room of Tanabe-sensei’s apartment on the first floor of the Teacher’s Building. And I would often hear a shuffling sound above me. That was Fujita-sensei. And even though it was during the war, they made *shiruko* (a traditional Japanese dessert) and invited us over. We were also invited to Hoshino-sensei’s house for *sukiyaki*, which was very touching. That’s when I became completely obsessed with this place, and I think that’s when the feeling of this centripetal force began.

After that, I joined the Women’s and Minor’s Bureau of the Ministry of Labor, a few months before Fujita-sensei. I was so happy to see her there when she joined. She wasn’t around that long, but a lasting impression I have is the time when the wooden Women’s and Minor’s Bureau building caught fire. Fujita-sensei shouted, “Bucket relay!” We used to do that here at Tsuda during the war. If she said, “Use your overcoats to put it out!”, well, they were so valuable, nobody wanted to use them, so Sensei would say, “Use mine!” Fire training drills from her days studying abroad at Bryn Mawr had stayed with her up to then.

Later, I sometimes visited her at her place in Higashi-Nakano. And as usual, I was treated to a delicious meal. One time, I invited Sensei for a drive in Hida-Takayama, and we had an accident. I was the driver, so I was responsible for it. I caused a great problem. I’m that kind of person. But because of that accident, I believe that I could stay with Fujita-sensei for the rest of her life, and I am grateful that she allowed me to become closer to her than ever before.

Later, when the Office of Women’s Affairs was established in the Prime Minister’s Office, I became the head. At that time, Moriyama-sensei was in charge of the Women’s and Minor’s Bureau, and we were separated. We

formed the Women's Issues Planning and Promotion Council, a large group of 35 people, and when considering who the chairperson would be, it was immediately decided that Fujita-sensei was the one. We thought it would be great to have Sensei, who had had the experience of being Chief Delegate at the World Women's Congress in Mexico. So, I had the honor of working for her for about three years.

After that, I became the Director of the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, where I worked in New York and Vienna. At that time, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women was adopted. A signing ceremony was to be held, but there was talk that Japan might not sign it due to strong opposition. The Women's Issues Planning and Promotion Council had been set up, it was International Women's Year, and Sensei was a great help to me. That's how it was.

Following that, I was in and out of her offices and I am happy to say that I have been very much influenced by her. Like the teacher who said that the alumnae directory was her favorite book, I think the Tsuda of the past was a rare school, where each and every one of us were cared for.

Moriyama: I studied here at Tsuda from 1944 to 1947. Now that Akamatsu-san has mentioned it, I remember that this hall was probably used for our entrance ceremony. At that time, in 1944, we were in the middle of the war, really the last stages of the war. Education and upbringing were completely different from what you think of today. Especially in women's education, the most heavily stressed themes were being a good wife, a wise mother, and a military mother, proud to have her sons serving. It was a time when teachers would talk only about such things, no matter what may come.

In 1944, there was a decrease in the amount of available male labor due to their deployment to the front lines overseas. Normally, girls were supposed to go to a girls' high school (*jogakko*) for five years, but in 1944 a special exemption was made. If they completed four years and were accepted to a higher school, they could go on to higher education. I think the idea was to increase the number of female specialists, technicians, and engineers as much as possible.

I was just finishing my fourth year at that time, and even though I would continue into the fifth year, I would still be mobilized to work in a factory. I thought it would be no fun to keep doing the same thing day after day and that there was a chance for me to make my own choices, so I decided to apply to an advanced school. But I wasn't as ambitious as Akamatsu-san, and I thought that all I had to do was just go on to any higher school. At the time, there were only a limited number of schools that offered higher education for women, but I visited several of them. As soon as I came to Tsuda and saw the school building from the gate, which is still here, I thought, "Oh, this is wonderful!" and I fell in love with the building and decided to apply. It was a very short period of time, and I didn't have much time to prepare, but I managed to hang on and was able to enter the school, and the entrance ceremony was held here in this hall.

The first thing Hoshino-sensei, the president of the school, said to us was, “You have all come to Tsuda, so study hard.” She repeatedly told us, “A school is a place to study. That’s why you’re here, so study hard.” This was completely different from what I had heard at the girls’ school. I remember thinking, “Oh my goodness, I’ve entered an amazing place.” But when I thought about it, I should have known that school was a place to study, so I told myself, “This is going to be tough,” but I had to catch up somehow. Fujita-sensei was a teacher of current topics in English and she taught us various things in that subject, but more than that she was a very cheerful teacher. That is my strongest impression of her. In her *kasuri monpe*, she would approach and talk to every student in a cheerful, loud tone of voice.

The war was growing fiercer and fiercer and the air raids began. So, an air-raid shelter was dug beside Building Number Five, that was just mentioned. I was supposed to go into the air-raid shelter next to Fujita-sensei’s house, so as soon as the alarm sounded, I jumped into the shelter and waited, holding my breath, shoulder to shoulder with her, for the raid to end. That left a deep impression on me. It seemed to have left a deep impression on Fujita-sensei as well. In fact, when I became Chief Cabinet Secretary in 1989, there is an entry in Fujita-sensei’s *Higashi-Nakano Diary* which reads, “This is unbelievable, I’m amazed!” After writing that she was surprised to hear that I had been appointed Chief Cabinet Secretary, she wrote a poem: “Huddled in an air-raid shelter on campus, flashbacks of B-29s appear.” I felt very honored that she remembered me.

Well, so, if a B-29 had dropped a bomb on the bomb shelter at that time, it would have meant that we shared the same fate. Fortunately, we didn’t have any of that, and we made it through the war. The following year, I had the chance to go to a national university where women were being permitted to take the entrance exam for the first time. My house had been completely burned down in an air raid; the whole place was burnt to a crisp and there was nothing left. At that time, I told Sensei that my house was gone and that I had nothing. And she said, “It’s inconvenient for a girl to not have a single hand mirror.” And I don’t know where she had kept it, but she gave me a square mirror, about this size, and I remember being so happy. Then came the university entrance examinations, and again, I was not as ambitious as Akamatsu-san, so my only interest was in just experiencing the tests. Now that they were letting women go where they had never been allowed to go before and giving us the chance to at least take the test, I thought I should just go and see what it was like. I didn’t want to be too clueless about it, so I asked around and heard that the easiest one to prepare for was law, so I applied to the Faculty of Law.

As you know, the teachers at Tsuda Juku at the time were overwhelmingly English and literature teachers, and they couldn’t figure out why I had chosen law. And while I couldn’t explain why I had chosen it, because my intentions hadn’t really been honorable, it was only Fujita-sensei who was very welcoming, telling me to study very hard. I remember that she didn’t get upset

when I dozed off or worked on my own things during her class. I managed to pass the University of Tokyo entrance exam. In those days, it wasn't easy to even make a phone call, so I hopped on the train from Hongo in a hurry to get back here, telling Fujita-sensei, "I passed!" "I'm so glad!", she said, giving me a big hug. It left a big impression on me.

*Connections through the Women's and Minor's
Bureau of the Ministry of Labor*

Moriyama: With great gratitude for all the support Sensei gave me when I was a student, and for paying attention to me, after that I joined the Ministry of Labor. I joined the ministry in 1950, and she served as Director General for four years from 1951. Together once again with the director, I, this new rank and file employee, received a lot of guidance.

In 1975, the World Women's Congress was held in Mexico for the first time, and at that time, we were wondering who we should ask to represent us from Japan. Looking around at other countries, we found that they all had women ministers and presidents. In Japan, unfortunately, in 1975, there were no female ministers, and of course no prime minister. Then, thinking of someone with the same dignity and power, no one else but Fujita-sensei came to mind. She was very hesitant because of her physical disability, but I begged her to do it. "I'll do the work, you just go!" I said, dragging her out. However, Fujita-sensei did her job well. She gave a splendid speech and encouraged all the staff members who were having a hard time, and I think we were able to get through many difficult phases of the conference just because she was there.

...

As I mentioned earlier, Fujita-sensei was at the Ministry of Labor for four years from 1951. As for the Women's and Minor's Bureau, the Ministry of Labor had been established in 1947, and the Women's and Minor's Bureau within that, that's when the history started. As it was the Women's and Minor's Bureau, they wanted the first director to be a woman, so they did their best to find one, but as I mentioned earlier, it was a time when women had little experience in various occupations or educational background. I'm sure they were quite distressed that there was no one available, and in the end the first director selected was, of course, a graduate of Tsuda, Yamakawa Kikue-sensei.

Yamakawa-sensei was a woman of great learning. She was an activist, but she was also a very serious researcher and scholar. I think many people were watching with interest to see what would happen if such a person became the general director of a government office. According to what I heard from my seniors when I was the Director of the Women's and Minor's Bureau, Sensei and her staff lodged together at a rundown inn and she assisted in conducting a survey of the situation. Using her own body, at a time when we were truly poor, and when the status of women was barely acknowledged. Enhance the status of women in the whole, including housewives, with the aim of having

society accept women becoming leaders—as the first woman director, she took the initiative and demonstrated what women can do.

I started as a first-year employee in the latter half of Yamakawa-sensei's tenure, so I did not receive direct guidance from her. However, there were a few times when I timidly went to her for an authorization or some such thing. I was very nervous because I had it in my mind that she was a very prestigious and honorable person, so I don't remember much about her personally. After that came Fujita-sensei, and as I mentioned earlier, she had been guiding me since I was a student, so I was very happy, and I remember feeling very motivated.

So, when Fujita-sensei was Director General, as Japan had not yet been admitted to the UN, she attended the Commission on the Status of Women every year as an observer. I also assisted in the preparations for this event. The information she brought back from her annual trips was very valuable to Japan at the time.

What is also unforgettable is that when Fujita-sensei had just become the Director of the Women's and Minor's Bureau, there was a movement to abolish it. I think Fujita-sensei was wondering, "What am I here for?" However, it would have been a shame to lose this bureau that dealt with women's issues, which were still very problematic. There should be a bureau, and that bureau should take the lead in reaching out to various other departments. So, with the help of the female members of the Diet at the time, along with Ichikawa Fusae-sensei, with the help of these people and a strong voice from the private sector, the Women's and Minor's Bureau was saved. The movement to abolish this bureau came up time and again, but it has remained in existence for more than 50 years, and we were able to establish a solid foundation from the very beginning, thanks to Yamakawa-senpai and Fujita-senpai.

Akamatsu: At the Women's and Minor's Bureau, Fujita-sensei was the second director, Moriyama-sensei was the fifth, and I was the seventh. During my tenure, the name was changed to the "Women's Bureau." This is because it was recognized that the issues affecting younger workers were separate from those affecting women workers.

In the beginning, I think it was the same, that both women workers and juvenile workers needed to be protected. Their working conditions were very harsh and terrible, so we had to protect them. The Labor Standards Law was enacted after World War II, and although the law was supposed to be followed, the law alone was insufficient, so the government kept an eye on it. For this reason, there was a Women's Labor Division and a Juvenile Labor Division, and the Women's Division was separated to improve the status of women, and the Women's and Minor's Bureau continued to exist.

However, as the world changed, the problems faced by young workers and women workers diverged, and the Women's Bureau was established. That was when I was the director, so the glorious name of Director of the Women's and Minor's Affairs Bureau ended after seven generations, and I was the seventh and final director, but also the first Director of the Women's

Bureau. Later, the name “Fujin Kyoku” was changed to “Jyosei Kyoku” because it was too old-fashioned. After that, the name was changed once again, and it became the Equal Employment and Child and Family Welfare Bureau. The Ministry of Health and Welfare and the Ministry of Labor came together, and the Women’s Bureau and the Child and Family Bureau were combined, so that’s what the bureau was called. Anyway, Yamakawa, Fujita, Moriyama and Akamatsu, in succession, were all graduates of Tsuda Juku.

After her retirement, Fujita-sensei became the president of the Council for Women’s and Minor’s Affairs. That went on for a long time. It was difficult to find someone of her capabilities who could take over her duties. Now that the pool of human resources has deepened with many prominent women, it is no longer necessary to rely on just one person. That’s all very well, but at that time, there were many situations that could only be resolved by Fujita-sensei.

*The World Conference on women and enacting
the Equal Employment Opportunity Law*

Akamatsu: As for the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, which is very much related to the equal employment opportunities for men and women, an agreement had been reached five years before its ratification. In order to get it signed, we made arrangements among the relevant government departments. We aimed to develop domestic legislation so that the Convention could be ratified five years after its signing, that is, by the end of the United Nations Decade for Women. Ratification at that time would determine the future course of Japan. To enable ratification of the treaty, the Equal Employment Opportunity Law was established, and since then, the legal path for working women in Japan has been established.

The question of whether to sign the treaty or not, which was the first step, became an issue at the Women’s Issues Planning and Promotion Council (a council within the Women’s Issues Promotion Division Headquarters). The government wouldn’t approve, so it was very difficult. On the other hand, Ichikawa Fusae-sensei had organized an outside NGO and she was raising her voice, saying “The government has to sign the treaty.” Fujita-sensei, as the chairperson of the government’s promotion committee, accepted the proposal and passed it on to the government, in what I call the Fujita-Ichikawa “tag match.” In other words, Fujita-sensei was sitting at the center of everything at a crucial time. I believe that this is the reason why we have been able to build the path we have taken to date.

Kubota: You all know about International Women’s Year, don’t you? It was 1975, and I was still in the Ministry of Labor at that time. The Women’s Division was traditionally the actual secretariat of the Commission on the Status of Women. While I was there, it happened to be International Women’s Year, so 23 countries were invited to participate in the drafting committee of the UN action plan to be adopted in Mexico, and I went.

Well, anyway, it was an amazing thing, wasn't it, this gathering of wise people? I am not a wise person myself, but these valiant people from Sweden, from England, they all came to see how much deliberating they could do to get the secretariat to change their draft. The draft was a weak thing. There were 800 items to fix, and "we can't deliberate that in two weeks" and "everyone, please just say your one most important thing and go. Leave the rest to the committee." What came out after that was a different, more militant global action plan.

So, Fujita-sensei became the chief representative for Japan at the World Conference in Mexico where the Global Plan of Action was adopted, and all the women section chiefs from various ministries, including General Director Moriyama of the Women's and Minor's Bureau, went to Mexico. Enthusiasm was rising. And everyone back here in Japan was very excited, too. We were responsible for translating the materials we received from the UN, one after the other, and making them known in Japan, and the people who came down to the venue were really excited at what was happening. "There are no women desks working for the newspapers!"—saying things like that. Anyway, everyone was so excited that they burst into tears. Given that Japan was lagging in terms of equality, I thought that without that level of excitement and anger, things would not come to fruition.

The only other time I had seen such excitement was when Fujita-sensei became the director of the Women's and Minor's Bureau, when the issue of abolishing the Women's and Minor's Bureau arose. Those two times. For women, getting their spirits up and seeing what they can do with that uplift is an important opportunity. Ichikawa Fusae-san had said, "Don't let Fujita-san hold a funeral for the Women's and Minor's Bureau!" So, all the women's groups united. At that time, they were so determined to prevent the abolition of the Women's and Minor's Bureau that they formed a union and played a very active part. I think it was the centripetal force of Fujita-sensei that made it possible for us to unite in such a way.

It was the same with the Global Action Plan. First of all, female members of the Diet stood up, right? The female members of the House of Councilors at that time were Ichikawa Fusae-sensei, Tanaka Sumiko-sensei from Tsuda Juku, and Ishimoto Shigeru-sensei from the Liberal Democratic Party, and they decided to hold an intensive discussion on the International Women's Year. Unfortunately, I didn't go to the Mexico conference, and I was left to deal with the anger of the women legislators mostly by myself. At that time, Prime Minister Miki was in power, and he said "I'll have to make myself the head of the Women's Affairs Planning and Promotion Headquarters to deal with this. We can't go on like this!" You can do it in a flash when things are ready.

Then, the Office of Women's Affairs was established in the Prime Minister's Office, and Moriyama-sensei said, "You should be the head of the Office of Women's Affairs," and I really didn't want to be in such a scary place, but I went. I was there for three and a half years. In the meantime, we

held more and more meetings in what was called the Planning Promotion Council, where private sector experts made recommendations, and the number of people recommended by themselves and others grew to 35, many of whom were somewhat quirky. Not all of them were focused on improving the status of women. When it came to the question of who would be able to handle it, everyone thought Fujita-sensei should be the one, so the Chief Cabinet Secretary asked her to come, and she did. I thought that was very good. So, she kept working at it.

Eventually, I would end up at the United Nations. First in New York, then in Vienna when the Division for the Advancement of Women moved there. In 1979, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. I was one of the mentors there, and then the following year, there was a world conference in Copenhagen, and it was decided to hold a signing ceremony there. I was responsible for organizing the ceremony. The people from each country were quite earnest. Many countries managed to get a cabinet decision, and they rushed to the ceremony, just in time. There were quite a few of them. There were even some who had completed ratification of the document in their parliaments. At that time, I think it was ratified by more than 70 countries, which was very fast for an international treaty. I think that's because there was so much energy swirling around the movement following the Women's Year.

But then one day, I got a phone call. It was from a source at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It would be difficult for Japan to sign. "Look" I said angrily, "the ambassador to Denmark, Takahashi Nobuko, has already been assigned to this project, and I am in charge of the secretariat, representing the government of Japan here. If that country wants to abandon us now, go ahead, but I don't know what the result will be." During that time, although I didn't see it, I heard that Fujita-sensei and everyone in Japan were working extremely hard to have Japan sign the treaty. She told the 35 members of the committee to approve it, saying to each one of them, "You're on board, right? You're good, right?" Ichikawa Fusae-sensei stood silently behind her, glaring. It was really lively and interesting, and we were so happy. Far away at that ceremony, together with Sibirano-san, we and the others in the secretariat all joined hands to form a circle and went around saying that our country had signed the treaty. I later thought that if Sensei hadn't pushed with such determination at that time, I just might have had to resign.

At the end of the symposium, each panelist spoke about the "centripetal force" of Fujita Taki. These words encapsulate the "Tsuda Spirit" and the leadership style of Fujita.

The "centripetal force" of Fujita Taki

Arima: Earlier, Akamatsu-sensei said that Fujita-sensei had been a centripetal force and that's why she was able to exist in such a way, so lastly, I would

like to ask each of you to say a few words about what you have learned from Fujita-sensei and what you would like to pass on to future generations.

Kubota: I have two things to add. One of the things I really want to say is that there was a hidden side to Fujita-sensei. Fujita-sensei was very pacifist. She said that her personality changed from yin to yang when she went to Bryn Mawr, but at the same time, in a sense, she was influenced by something even more significant. It was her encounter with the Quakers. Fujita-sensei used to go to the meeting house at Haverford College all the time. Both Bryn Mawr and Haverford are colleges founded by Quakers. As she wrote in her book *Wagamichi* [My Way], Quakers are absolute pacifists and conscientious objectors. In return, Quakers were willing to submit themselves to experimentation for the sake of medicine. She was also struck by the equality of men and women before God.

Moriyama: The centripetal force of Fujita-sensei, or why many people thought it could be no one else but her, why she had to be the one, I've been thinking about this, too, and in short, I think it's about her long and diverse career, her broad-minded and generous tolerance, and her warm personality.

As I mentioned earlier, when I became the Chief Cabinet Secretary, Fujita-sensei wanted to celebrate it in some way, and this is what she found for me. This is an *obidome* in the shape of a small plum blossom. It's an *obidome*² that Hoshino-sensei used to wear. And since it's a plum blossom, it instantly reminds me of Tsuda-sensei.³ And the *obi* clasp itself reminds me of Hoshino-sensei, both of them had worn it. Fujita-sensei gave it to me, and it is my treasure. I always keep this attached to my train pass holder and walk every day with all my might, and when I see this it reminds me of those teachers [Figure 9.2].



Figure 9.2 Moriyama Mayumi's *obidome*

Actually, December 23rd is Fujita-sensei's birthday, just before Christmas. And it just so happens that her birthday is the same as that of the current Emperor, isn't it? At the end of 1992, I became Minister of Education, and at that time, I was invited to the Emperor's birthday party in December. Then, I brought a folded box with a beautiful treat that I had received there and rushed to see Fujita-sensei and said, "It's just something I received, but please enjoy even just a single bite."

Sensei wasn't feeling well, and she passed away ten days later, but I said, "It's Moriyama. I'm here to report that I'm now the Minister of Education. This is a gift from the Emperor," to which she replied, "Oh, thank you very much." And what did she say next? "Oh, Minister of Education? What about the sumo ring then?" You all know my history with the ring, right? Well, 10 days before she died, when she was in a situation where it was difficult for her to eat most of her food, hearing her ask, "What about the ring?" was surprising. "I was invited to the first day of the tournament, somehow I spoke well, and they seemed receptive, so I will make efforts to resolve it eventually," I fibbed. But, unfortunately, it had not been resolved yet. I knew I had to resolve this issue as soon as possible and report back to Sensei, but that is what happened. I think that was Fujita-sensei, always giving us such a heart-felt celebration with very detailed consideration, and she encouraged me to care about the status of women until the end.

As the young people are listening, I would like to remind you that one such senior was with us until just recently, strongly encouraging us, and that such power has accumulated to make the world what it is today. There are still many things to be done, so I sincerely hope that all of you will open up new paths again. Thank you very much.

Akamatsu: What I have wanted to say about Fujita-sensei from the beginning was how well she took care of Hoshino-sensei in her old age.

After Hoshino-sensei basically lost her sight, Fujita-sensei read English books to her every night before she went to bed. Hoshino-sensei always stayed up late and Fujita-sensei could no longer stay up to prepare for her lectures, so she just went to bed. Instead, she would wake up early the next morning to get ready. I'm a huge morning sleeper, so I don't think I could do such a thing, which is probably why I'm so impressed, but anyway she read to her every night. Of course, Hoshino-sensei was the one who had raised her to that extent, and Fujita-sensei certainly felt a great debt of gratitude. Even as Fujita-sensei got older herself, she read English books to this blind, elderly woman every night, or even if they were Japanese books, it didn't matter, she just kept reading to her.

Because of this, in her later years, many people came to visit Fujita-sensei, and she spent her final years surrounded by flowers and her students. Even when serving as president of various organizations, her warm personality brought people together in adoration.

Uchida: Fujita-sensei's appeal to me is roughly divided into two. One is as a person who had the aptitude of a leader, who had a big vision and the ability to

implement it, and the ability to make you feel secure in following her. The other is the human warmth, the great kindness, and the sense of security that comes from knowing that you can rely on this person to help you.

So, I'd like to end with a quote from Sensei. "In various situations, when you have to cast a vote, when you have to express your approval or disapproval, look down, that is, don't look around, and raise your hand first. If you know that you might be the only one in favor of the idea, it will be difficult to raise your hand, so follow your beliefs and raise your hand first." I was very impressed with these words.

Arima: Thank you very much. Everybody's stories touch the heart. One thing I will never forget about what Fujita-sensei did for me was when I was working in newspapers and television. Whenever I wrote a bylined article, I received a postcard from her, and Fujita-sensei's elegant writing was not always easy to read, but with that lively writing style she would always compliment me on an article or something I'd done on television. She never criticized, but always praised me. I thought she was very good at praising people. I believe it was Fujita-sensei who taught me how much praising people can encourage them.

...

Takahashi: The stories you shared with us were truly vivid oral histories. The stories of our predecessors, who have blazed unexplored trails on the world stage, will inspire the younger generation through the message of "Women, be ambitious." In the future, the Tsuda Umeko Archives will continue to devote itself to its activities as a place to shed light on the history of women and send out messages that empower women. I would like to express our gratitude to the panelists for taking time out of their busy schedules to share their insights with us today. Thank you so very much.

Conclusion: "A Great Line of Women"⁴

Many in the audience, including myself, were fascinated by the episode of the *obidome* that Moriyama introduced. I felt that the *obidome* was like a "baton" of encouragement for women's leadership. The *obidome*, which had been passed down from Hoshino Ai and Fujita Taki, had been handed to Moriyama. The fact that Fujita's favorite book was the *Alumnae Directory* also reminds me of Tsuda Umeko's story of the map and the marking pins. The strong bond between the two can be seen in Moriyama's actions as she went to report to Fujita immediately after being appointed as Minister. There were many episodes of heartfelt support for the success of the graduates and joy at their achievements. The generations support and help each other pave the way forward. The two-hour talk was filled with panelists' stories of the "Tsuda Spirit" of nurturing the next generation.

Eight years later, Moriyama took the stage at the English Department's Freshman Camp in the spring of 2010. At the reception afterward, I had a chance to speak with her. I told her that I still remembered the story of the *obidome* and asked her if, someday, she would be so kind as to donate it to the college so that it could become a

college treasure. Moriyama readily agreed. In October 2010, she visited the Kodaira campus for the presentation ceremony of the Tsuda Umeko Prize and said, “This is for you” as she handed the *obidome* to me. Of course, she was donating it to the college, but I was thrilled to be able to hold the “baton” that had been passed down from Tsuda Umeko, Hoshino Ai, Fujita Taki, and Moriyama Mayumi.

In particular, the episode of the *obidome* epitomizes the words in the afterword to *A Great Line of Women* by the late Professor Emeritus Kawamoto Shizuko, renowned for her research on Virginia Woolf, which I quoted in my closing remarks at the Inclusive Leadership Online Open Meeting, which was held on September 4, 2020. I would like to introduce the image of “a great line of women” by quoting the afterword in Kawamoto’s book.

Kawamoto herself said that a major factor in her writing about women writers and heroines was that “the image of the ‘great line of women’ presented by Virginia Woolf and Doris Lessing never left my mind. I was made aware of the great line of women in front of and behind me by these two writers.” After quoting the concluding section of Woolf’s *A Room of One’s Own*, Kawamoto writes:

What Woolf is appealing to here in the form of the inheritance of literary traditions by women is actually the inheritance of the shared “life” of all women. Woolf has no doubt that the baton, passed from one generation to the next, will one day reach the hands of an ideal “female poet”—an artist with an incandescent light and an unhindered spirit, like Shakespeare. When she calls out, the relay runners she is inspiring will be not only women poets and writers. Housewives and teachers, waitresses and grocery store ladies, all women must hand over the baton they inherited from their mothers to their daughters so that in some distant day, there will be a “great woman”, better and happier than the ones we are today.

(Kawamoto, 2002, p. 116)

Kawamoto concluded as follows:

Nothing has been a greater source of strength in my life than the image of this great line of women. In my life as a woman, a researcher, a wife, and a mother, I have always been supported by the great line of women that stretches behind me, and I have found hope in the great line of women that will stretch in front of me. That is why I titled this book *A Great Line of Women*.

(Kawamoto, 2002, p. 117)

The voice of Fujita and the voices that talk about Fujita together weave the image of this great line of women, and the *obidome* is a symbol that encourages the relay runners carrying the baton.

Through this chapter, I discovered how women’s leadership has been passed on at Tsuda College, an institution of higher learning that has produced women leaders with ties that transcend generations. It is evident that an invisible leadership development curriculum, formed in an institution of higher learning, played a

pivotal role in helping marginalized women seek diversity and inclusion and take charge of social change. The solidarity of these women leaders is an extremely thought-provoking example of how to achieve diversity and inclusion in higher education institutions in Japan, a society that still struggles with one of the most severe gender gaps in the world.

Acknowledgment

This research was supported by grants from the Private University Research Branding Project (Type B: Global Development Category) of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology and the Diversity Center for Inclusive Leadership at Tsuda University (<https://dcfil.tsuda.ac.jp/english/index.html>).

Notes

- 1 “Sekai ni Habataku-Kakukai no Rokunin ga Paionia Fujita Taki o kataru” [Succeeding Globally: Six People in Various Fields Talk about the Pioneer, Fujita Taki], 2002 Symposium by Tsuda Umeko Hall and Tsuda College Archives, November 23, 2002, Tsuda University.
- 2 An *obidome* is an ornamental clasp used for *obi* (sash) holding a kimono in place.
- 3 Tsuda’s first name is Umeko. *Ume* means “plum” in Japanese.
- 4 Kawamoto Shizuko, *Onna no Nagai Retsu* [A Great Line of Women], Private Edition, 2002.

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10 Promoting diversity and inclusion in higher education

The case of Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University

Toshitsugu Otake

Introduction

This chapter describes the efforts made to develop diversity and inclusion at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (APU). Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University is a private university founded in Beppu City, Oita Prefecture, by the Ritsumeikan Trust headquartered in Kyoto City, Kyoto Prefecture. The Ritsumeikan Trust is one of the largest school corporations in Japan and is responsible for Ritsumeikan University, APU, four high schools, four junior high schools, and one elementary school. Oita Prefecture lies about 430 km in a straight line from Kyoto and about 800 km from Tokyo, the capital of Japan. The APU campus is located in Beppu City, Oita, on top of a mountain over 300 m above sea level (the highest point is 338 m above sea level), is surrounded by open space, and is nearly 30 minutes away by bus from Beppu Station in downtown Beppu City. Understanding the Ritsumeikan Trust, as well as Oita Prefecture and Beppu City—which are less globally well-known than Tokyo and Kyoto—is essential for understanding the establishment of APU.

There are many problems associated with recruiting high school students in rural areas, including Beppu City in Japan. Mock (2014, pp. 11–12) noted the structural problems arising from the differences between metropolitan and rural areas. He revealed that about half of high school graduates go on to two- or four-year universities, while the remaining half receive some other form of post-secondary education, such as training programs or *semmon gakko* (“specialty schools”). Furthermore, he claimed that the location of high schools and tertiary institutions pulls young people out of rural areas and cities.

Many universities in Japan have not yet actively adopted diversity and inclusion. In such an environment, APU has been incorporating diversity and inclusion beyond the Japanese environment since its establishment. Given the environment and societal structure explained above, we discuss the historical background and circumstances that led to the establishment of a university with dual language education (Japanese and English), which is unique in both Japan and the world, from the perspective of the Ritsumeikan Trust, Oita Prefecture, and Beppu City. Next, after describing the diverse environment at APU, we explain how APU has developed diversity and an inclusive environment in its curriculum and extracurricular activities. Finally, we discuss the diversity and inclusion challenges that

remain despite the efforts to create a diverse and inclusive environment that has built a miraculous international environment. In the last section, we argue that creating a stronger diversity and inclusion environment requires improving the ratio of female faculty and staff and female faculty and staff executives as well as addressing the issue of seniority among top executives. In this chapter, we demonstrate how APU practices diversity and inclusion in Japan's higher education, nurtures students through such an environment, and sends students to society to create a diverse and inclusive society.

APU foundation: background

Ritsumeikan Trust

Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University is located on a mountain in Beppu City, Oita Prefecture, which is far from Kyoto, the home of the Ritsumeikan Trust. The founder of Ritsumeikan is Saionji Kinmochi, one of the elder statesmen of the Meiji Era, who served as prime minister twice, in 1906 and 1911. Ritsumeikan originated in the Ritsumeikan private school founded in the Kyoto Imperial Garden in 1869, the year after the Meiji Restoration. Saionji was one of the most cosmopolitan people of his time, having studied in Paris, and the dream of globalization has been part of Ritsumeikan since its founding.

Between 1994 and 1995, the plan to establish the APU took shape within the Ritsumeikan Trust. Ritsumeikan University began to move forward with the establishment of new colleges in the 1980s. Starting in the late 1980s, Ritsumeikan University has established new colleges in rapid succession in three fields: computer information technology, biotechnology/life/health, and internationalization or globalization. Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University is active in the internationalization and globalization field, which is one of the three pillars of Ritsumeikan University reform, along with the establishment of the College of International Relations at Ritsumeikan University in 1988. The Ritsumeikan Trust developed the idea of APU further in 1995 and established a preparatory committee for the establishment of a new university. From the very beginning, Ritsumeikan followed a unique policy of building a university with an Asia-Pacific perspective, rather than simply an international university.

The Ritsumeikan Trust's university vision for the 21st century predicted that, amid globalization, the university would go beyond the mere internationalization of teaching and learning and would itself become internationalized with an eye to the Asia-Pacific region; this would happen because the number of foreign students from the Asia-Pacific region would increase dramatically and American universities would expand into Japan. During this period, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation was established among 12 countries, including Japan, South Korea, the United States, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries. The Asia-Pacific region was expected to grow rapidly and become the center of the world economy. Therefore, it was considered that Japanese universities must become able to contribute to the Asia-Pacific region.

Oita Prefecture

Oita Prefecture has many local specialties. Horse mackerel and mackerel landed in the Saganoseki area in Oita are called *Seki Aji* and *Seki Saba*, respectively, and were approved for trademark registration for the first fishery products in 1996. There are plenty of hot springs in Beppu City, such as the Beppu Jigoku Tour, and more than eight million tourists visit Beppu City every year. Furthermore, Yufu City has the second largest number of hot springs in Japan. Yufuin Hot Spring has prospered as a hot spring resort for a long time. There is also *Oita Mugi Shochu*, which started the Shochu boom. Shochu is a traditional Japanese distilled spirit made from barley, sweet potatoes, or rice, while Japanese sake is a brewed alcohol. All of these products are very popular because of the marine products, food products, and services that can be obtained, produced, and experienced only in their respective regions. These specialty products became popular as national brands because of their regional brand strategy, which is called “One Village, One Product” in Oita Prefecture. The plan for a university was aimed at revitalizing Oita Prefecture. In accordance with the One Village, One Product concept, it was to be a completely new type of university. Since Oita Prefecture is close to other Asian countries, the university was to serve as a link between the prefecture and Asia, which is APU’s current concept.

In January 1994, a letter arrived at Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto from Mr Hiramatsu, governor of Oita Prefecture (Sakiya & Yanase, 2016). The questionnaire contained in the letter asked, “Does your university have a plan to move its college or establish a new university to another prefecture?” Oita Prefecture and the Ritsumeikan Trust soon approached each other in the wake of this questionnaire, and Ritsumeikan Trust executives visited Oita Prefecture to pay a courtesy call on Governor Hiramatsu in February 1994. The governor visited Ritsumeikan University’s Kyoto Kinugasa Campus in April 1994. Establishing a new university in Oita Prefecture was an interesting idea. However, because the Ritsumeikan Trust had just established a new college of international relations and a new campus (as mentioned), it was considering to creating a completely new kind of university in Japan, wherein half of the students were from abroad.

After several discussions and meetings, Governor Hiramatsu continued to search for a new university site in Oita Prefecture, one of which was a vast tract of land called *Jumonjibaru*, halfway up a mountain on the outskirts of Beppu City. It is now a scenic area overlooking Beppu Bay and the Pacific Ocean, but it was a wasteland covered with thickets and bushes that was difficult for people to access at that time. Governor Hiramatsu discussed the matter with the mayor, and Beppu City readily agreed to invite the Ritsumeikan Trust’s new university to Beppu. Thus, the Ritsumeikan Trust is not the only founder of APU; Oita Prefecture, where the campus is currently located, is also a founder.

Japan is a conservative island nation, and concerns were expressed that the establishment of an international university half of whose students would be foreigners would make the city less safe. Therefore, a pamphlet describing the

university’s commitment was delivered to every household in Beppu City. The pamphlet, titled “Creating People, Creating Town, Creating Community,” stated that the university would become the nucleus of the community, contribute to the community’s development, and create a new bond between it and the university. This process truly sought inclusion across the city.

Beppu City

As mentioned, APU is located on a mountainside in the suburbs of Beppu City, a hot springs town in Oita Prefecture. Beppu City has Japan’s largest number of hot springs sources and largest amount of spring water and is one of the leading hot springs areas in Japan. It thus has a purely Japanese environment and culture. Beppu City is located in the center of the eastern part of Oita Prefecture and is an alluvial plain formed by the Asami River, Haruki River, and Sakai River, which flow into the Pacific Ocean and are formed downstream by mountains centered on Mt. Tsurumi and Mt. Yufu.

Its population peaked in the 1980s and has been gradually decreasing. The rate slowed in the late 1990s and has been stagnant ever since. Beppu City is a domestic tourist city served by a partly international student body; this is the most significant contribution that APU makes in this area. Figure 10.1 shows the changes in the number of foreign residents in Beppu City at the end of March every year. The number of foreign residents in Beppu City has remained steady at above 3,000 since the establishment of APU in 2000.

More than 80% of the city’s population is employed in the tertiary industry, mainly the accommodation and other tourist industries, and the retail industry. Therefore, Beppu City has been an aging society for a long time. Many elderly people settle in the city to take a hot springs cure, and its medical institutions

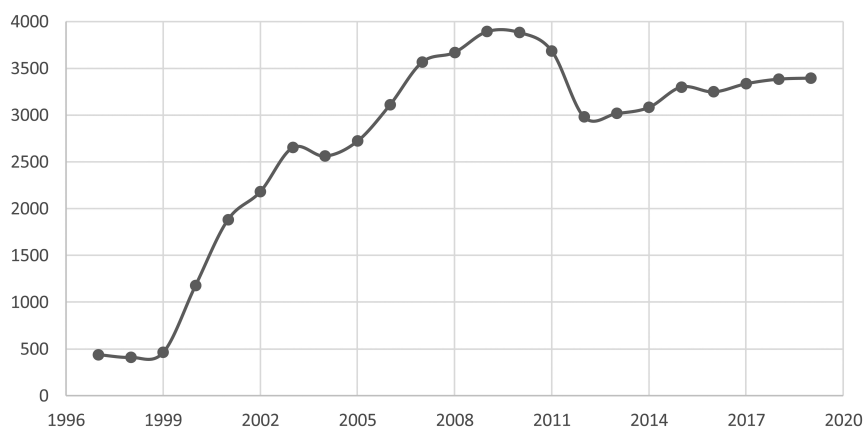


Figure 10.1 Number of foreigners in Beppu City

are well-developed for the size of the population. On the other hand, its share of welfare recipients is 3.3%, almost double the national average, and the Annual Income Guide website (Income Ranking, 2021) claims that the average annual income in Oita Prefecture is 4.14 million Japanese yen, placing it 34th among Japan's 47 prefectures, compared to 6.2 million Japanese yen in Tokyo, which ranks first. While its lodging and retail industries are well developed, the city has relatively few general companies, making it difficult for young people to live there. However, after the establishment of the APU, thousands of foreigners—mainly international students, foreign faculty members, and their families—began to stay and live in Beppu City.

The Beppu Citizen's Charter, enacted on January 1, 1968, states the following:

- Let us create a beautiful city.
- Cherish the hot springs.
- Let us welcome our guests warmly.

The welcoming environment in Beppu City led to an initiative to welcome international students and faculty members. There is no doubt that Beppu City, which is very different from Tokyo, was the perfect environment in which to build a university that would accept international students.

Characteristics of APU

Three 50s at APU

Forecasts made in the mid-1990s predicted that Asian countries such as China and India would grow rapidly and that the Asia-Pacific region would become a driving force of the world economy. China began to grow rapidly in the 2000s, overtaking Japan to become the world's second-largest economy in 2010. Business leaders in both Japan and around the world have always wanted a university that could foster leaders in the Asia-Pacific region in anticipation of the Asia-Pacific era.

In this new environment, the Ritsumeikan Trust, Oita Prefecture, and Beppu City aimed to open APU and meet the “three 50s” goal: 50% of the students were to be international students, 50% of the faculty members were to be foreign nationals, and the students were to come from more than 50 countries or regions. They would probably not have achieved their 50% international students goal had they aimed for only 10% or 20% from the beginning. Furthermore, had they not decided to accept international students from all over the world, their students would have come only from China, South Korea, Taiwan, and neighboring countries/regions of Japan.

Approximately 50% (around 3,000 of their 6,000 current students) are full-time international students from overseas, rather than exchange students. The international students come from more than 80 countries and regions. The domestic students come not only from the Kyushu area but from all over Japan, including

the Tokyo and Osaka metropolitan areas, Hokkaido in the north, and Okinawa in the south.

Fifty percent of the faculty members are also international, and most of the classes are offered in both Japanese and English. The university requires the same number of English and Japanese courses for 50% of the international students. Offering classes in both Japanese and English requires that 50% of faculty members be international from the outset.

It was very difficult for Japanese universities to attract many students and faculty members from overseas because of the language barrier. No university student body in Japan is comprised 50% of full-time international students across all four-year undergraduate programs due to the language barrier. Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University has removed this barrier so that students from abroad can enroll even if they cannot speak Japanese as long as they have mastered English. After enrollment, international students can study Japanese and take specialized courses in English. To achieve its three 50s strategy, APU has used unique methods, such as accepting students from all over the world, recruiting international faculty members, and creating a curriculum for two types of classes offered in both Japanese and English.

In 2014, Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) initiated the Top Global University (SGU) project. The APU was chosen as one of the top universities to lead diversity and the international environment in Japan. The objective of the SGU project is to foster universities that promote systems for the globalization of education in Japan and aim to become a Top Global University. The ultimate goal is to overcome the inward-looking attitudes of the younger generation, improve international and industrial competitiveness, and foster human resources who can perform strongly on the global stage. To achieve the objectives of the SGU project, APU has been continuously working toward internationalization, diversity, and inclusion.

Meeting the three 50s goals has enabled international students and international faculty members and families to form close relationships with the local communities in Oita Prefecture and Beppu City, resulting in the global promotion of the region. Those involved with APU teach English and international understanding to local children, take part in local events, produce promotional videos for Oita Prefecture overseas, create guide maps for overseas travelers, and work at local government offices and banks, thus contributing to the globalization of the region.

Support for students with disabilities

While preparing an environment favorable to internationalization and diversity, APU adopted the idea of inclusion from an early stage and has been striving to provide equal education to all students, especially to students with disabilities. Table 10.1 lists the number of APU students with disabilities.

The APU support system for students with disabilities is built based on consultations with the Admissions Office about enrollment, the Student Office about student life, the Academic Office about classes and exams, and the Career Office

Table 10.1 Number of students with disabilities

	'17 FA	'18 SP	'18 FA	'19 SP	'19 FA	'20 SP	'20 FA
Total	22	18	22	21	25	23	25
Regular students	20	16	22	21	25	23	25
Non-regular	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
First year	11	6	4	3	4	4	2
Second year	4	6	9	8	7	6	5
Third year	3	3	3	5	9	9	6
Fourth year+	2	1	6	5	4	3	11
Graduate school students	—	—	—	—	1	1	1
Visual disorder	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
Hearing disorder	1	2	3	3	2	1	2
Physical disorder	2	2	4	4	5	4	4
Illness	4	5	4	6	7	6	7
Developmental disorder	6	5	6	4	4	3	4
Mental disorder	6	2	3	2	5	4	6

Source: APU Academic Office.

about the employment situation. There are six main types of disabilities: recording, visual disorders, hearing disorders, physical disorders, illnesses, developmental disorders, and mental disorders. Approximately 20–25 APU students had some kind of disability each semester. The following are the main academic accommodations made at APU for students with disabilities:

- The examination time for mid-terms or final exams can be extended up to 1.3 times.
- Students with disabilities are allowed to take their mid-term or final exams in a separate room.
- Students with disabilities are allowed to submit their mid-term or final exam answers by typing them using a PC provided by the university and not connected to the Internet.
- Students with disabilities are allowed to take the mid-term or final exam using enlarged copies of the question sheets or answer sheets.
- Students with disabilities are allowed to use screen- or page-magnifying equipment in class.
- Students with disabilities are allowed to use a tablet-type device in class.
- Students with disabilities are allowed to use a PC in class.
- Students with disabilities are allowed to use electric devices with speech recognition software installed.
- Students with disabilities can be provided with course materials in electronic form before or after each class.
- If online content is referred to in classes, the link and information for the website are provided in advance.

- Students with disabilities can receive enlarged copies of handouts and/or textbook materials.
- In class or during exams, important information that students with disabilities need to know will be written on the board.
- Students with disabilities are allowed to take pictures of information on the board or screen.
- Comments from other students are written on the board or restated by the instructor.
- The instructors avoid using the area of the blackboard farthest from the wheelchair seat.
- Students with disabilities are allowed to record lectures.
- Students with disabilities are allowed to take a speaking test for language courses in a separate room.
- Students with disabilities can receive consideration regarding deadlines for homework assignments.
- Students with disabilities can receive consideration regarding in-class assignment deadlines (especially essays).
- Students with disabilities are allowed to sit at the back of the class.
- If there are wheelchair-accessible desks at the front of the classroom, students with disabilities are allowed to use those desks during classes and final exams.
- Wheelchair-accessible desks can be installed in the classroom if necessary.
- Students with disabilities are allowed to sit when they are asked to stand up for ten or more minutes.
- If students with disabilities are late to or absent from class due to their disability, they can be given consideration, such as alternative assignments.
- If students with disabilities are late to or absent from class due to their disability, they are permitted to take makeup exams.
- The instructor will contact the Central Security Office if students with disabilities experience seizures.
- Students with disabilities are allowed to enter and leave the classroom during class for reasons related to their disability.
- A note taker can be assigned to them.
- The registration of students with disabilities can be changed so that they are not automatically registered for courses held during the first period.
- Students with disabilities are allowed to change their registration to place them in a class that will impose less of a burden on their disability.

These efforts are being made not only for current students but also for those who, for example, sit for university entrance examinations and attend open campus events. Enrollment rates among students with disabilities are very low in Japanese universities, including APU, partly because students with disabilities and their families are not given adequate information, making it difficult for them to pursue higher education. Thus, more effort should be made to disseminate the appropriate information.

Language education for Japanese and international students

As with other Japanese universities, Japanese APU students generally need to learn English in their first year. They start taking English courses at different levels according to each student's English ability and follow a curriculum that allows the students to acquire English skills in stages, from beginner to intermediate to advanced. We also focus on pre-enrollment education, which many universities are now doing. Prospective students come to the campus to participate in various pre-enrollment programs to prepare for their entrance, including learning English. Although APU has an international and diverse environment, many students wish to be sent abroad as exchange students to one of our 163 overseas partner universities (as of June 2020), choosing based on the specialty they wish to study and the country they wish to visit.

There is a language barrier to creating an environment of international diversity and inclusion. Although APU is prepared for bilingual education, international students need to live in Japan. Overcoming the language barrier in an environment of international diversity and inclusion requires improving the Japanese language skills of the international students, many of whom have never spoken Japanese before coming to Japan. We have prepared a curriculum to help international students acquire Japanese language skills in a step-by-step manner as well as English courses for Japanese students. Surprisingly, many international students can master the Japanese language and become familiar with Japanese culture and customs during their four years of college life. Many faculty members offer classes in which Japanese and English are used together in seminars for third- and fourth-year students, creating an environment wherein Japanese and English can be used freely. This is one of the factors that promote an environment of internationality, diversity, and inclusion.

Freshman intercultural relations study trip and CAPSTONE

Given the international environment at APU, we are preparing various programs with which to promote diversity and inclusion through our classes. In particular, we would like to introduce the Freshman Intercultural Relations Study Trip (FIRST) program for the first-year students and the CAPSTONE course for senior students, as described below.

As the APU homepage (International Programs, 2021) explains, FIRST offers first-year students the opportunity to spend the break between quarters traveling to other parts of Japan or overseas and experience Asian culture and society by interacting with local people and conducting field research. The FIRST program is held twice a year—once in another country for domestic students in the spring and once in another part of Japan for international students in the fall. The most significant feature of the FIRST program is its hands-on approach to conducting research on an unfamiliar country, culture, and language. Kyushu was chosen as the destination by drawing straws. Students in the FIRST program need to interview approximately 200 people over four days. The program is designed to

teach students how Japanese people think and behave, as well as the significance of living in Japan, studying Japanese culture, and learning Japanese. Though the program is short, students can use it to improve their Japanese skills by conducting research that requires exchanges with Japanese locals.

The program will be conducted in four prefectures in Kyushu. Hospitality, nature, food, and places where Japan's history and traditions have been beautifully preserved are just a few among the countless things that make Kyushu one of the most attractive places in the country. Each prefecture is unique: Oita, with its pristine and beautiful nature yielding an abundance of hot spring water unrivaled in the country; Nagasaki, with its historic port, the only one open for foreign trade during the country's period of isolation, which continues to provide a glimpse into foreign cultures; Saga, known for its exquisite pottery from towns such as Karatsu, Imari, and Arita and its hot springs in Takeo and Ureshino; and, finally, Fukuoka, home to the biggest city in Kyushu, known for its shopping districts and delicious foods, such as *yatai ramen* (street stall ramen noodles) and *motsunabe* (tripe hot pot). During the program, participants will also have a chance to visit smaller towns that are not commonly known to foreign tourists. Based on their experiences in the FIRST program, Japanese and international students will exchange opinions and come to understand different cultures and global perspectives despite being first-year students. This will be an important opportunity for them to come to comprehend the importance of diversity and inclusion.

The CAPSTONE course for senior students is offered by the College of International Management and is required for graduation. Many classes covering diversity and inclusion, including the FIRST program, are offered before the fourth year, but there are no compulsory courses for senior students designed to address diversity and inclusion comprehensively. The learning objectives of this class are as follows.

This course is semester and project based. In it, students of different nationalities and with different specializations work in teams to apply their business knowledge and skills to a real-world project. Students are expected to conduct a comprehensive analysis of a company to tackle its business problems and propose solutions. The CEO or manager of the company will speak to the class as a guest lecturer in order to provide their company overview, share their business experiences, and present real business challenges to the students. The first part of the course focuses on team development and project planning, followed by a series of lectures and workshops. The final deliverables of the course are sets of recommendations and implementations, which are supported by data and analysis provided by each team. Four teaching assistants and alumni support will be provided. Based on our learning objectives, we have been working with several companies every semester since 2018 to develop business solutions while interacting with students from around the world (Table 10.2).

In this class, students can make presentations and communicate in either Japanese or English; the course is offered as an English/Japanese combined class. We want to ensure that, while studying subjects such as management, accounting,

Table 10.2 Guest lecturers for CAPSTONE

<i>Date</i>	<i>Guest speaker</i>	<i>Industry</i>
Spring semester, 2018	Oita Football Club Co., Ltd.	Professional Football Club
Fall semester, 2018	Fuji Television Network, Inc.	Mass Media
Spring semester, 2019	NK-Group	Consulting
Fall semester, 2019	KOSÉ Corporation	Cosmetics
Spring semester, 2020	Hitachi, Ltd.	Conglomerate
Fall semester, 2020	IHI Corporation	Heavy Industry Manufacture

Source: Author.

marketing, and finance before graduating and starting to work at a company, the students come to understand diversity and inclusion and demonstrate leadership through group discussions about business solutions and interactions with students from all over the world.

Multicultural Week

Multicultural Week (MCW) is a country-themed event at APU (e.g., Indonesia Week, Vietnam Week) that attracts students from more than 90 countries and regions (as of November 2020). A country-specific event is held every week, organized by a mixed team of students from each country and region, including Japan. Dressed in folk costumes, students from each country and region perform dances and musical plays and set up stalls to serve folk dishes. The organizers work together to plan and manage each week's event, publicize it, and solicit support from local communities and businesses. In this way, the students gain experience in accomplishing a project in a multicultural environment.

Multicultural Week has been held since 2000 with the aim of drawing on the international composition of APU to promote understanding among countries and regions. The implementation of MCW is expected to:

- (1) Create a place for exchange between international students in the host country/region and domestic students and build mutual relationships in various fields, such as culture, the arts, sports, and food, over a week (Monday to Friday).
- (2) Foster self-growth among students, such as by helping them acquire the skills required in the diverse environment for organizational management and international collaboration and realize a new awareness of self.
- (3) Promote an understanding of different cultures.

Not only is MCW fun for the students attending the event, but it is also an opportunity to deepen their understanding of the cultures of other countries and regions. Unfortunately, the COVID-19 pandemic has made it difficult to hold events such as MCW. Details on the implementation of MCW in 2019 are shown in Table 10.3.

Table 10.3 Multicultural Week in 2019AY

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event name</i>
June 10, 2019–June 14, 2019	Chinese Week
June 17, 2019–June 21, 2019	Oceania Week
June 24, 2019–June 28, 2019	Thai Week
July 1, 2019–July 5, 2019	Vietnamese Week
July 8, 2019–July 12, 2019	Indonesia Week
July 15, 2019–July 17, 2019	Taiwan Week
October 14, 2019–October 18, 2019	Fashion Week
October 28, 2019–November 1, 2019	Korean Week
November 4, 2019–November 8, 2019	India Week
December 2, 2019–December 6, 2019	Mongolian Week
January 14, 2019–January 17, 2019	Malaysian Week

Source: APU Student Office.

A survey by the APU Student Office found that the growth students perceived during MCW did not change significantly regardless of the year. Nearly 65% of the students described growth in teamwork every year, and the students also experienced growth in independence, planning, and communication. Because MCW is voluntary, its implementation as a representative APU event requires the creation of a framework in which students in all colleges will be interested in participating in it, as well as funds and insights. Though it can be improved, MCW is a valuable event that allows students to experience diversity and inclusion through extracurricular activities.

Establishment of Muslim Research Center and Center for Inclusive Leadership

One of the internationalization tasks required while accepting international students and foreign faculty members from various countries is dealing with Muslims. Most of the Muslim population lives in Southeast Asia, South Asia, and Central Asia. Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University accepts many students from Islamic countries such as Indonesia and Malaysia in Southeast Asia, Bangladesh and Pakistan in South Asia, and Kazakhstan in Central Asia. However, APU was not initially an environment compatible with Islam.

One consideration is that pork and alcohol cannot be eaten or drunk according to Islam. In addition, there are strict rules regarding the processing and cooking of food. In response, Beppu City Hall and students jointly created a guidebook, the “Muslim-Friendly Map of Beppu City,” and built restaurants and shops in Beppu City where halal-friendly ingredients can be purchased. In addition, the consumer co-op that operates the school cafeteria obtained Muslim-friendly certification and has begun offering halal food. Beppu City and APU have been working together since 2000 to prepare a system for accepting Islamic people.

The second challenge is addressing the habit of praying in the direction of Mecca five times daily at a fixed time. There is a perception that religious events are suppressed at APU and that no special support is provided even though the university campus includes people from various religions. On the other hand, it is necessary to accept diversity. Thus, instead of a Prayer Room, APU has set up a room called “The Quiet Space” where Muslim students and faculty members can pray and meditate.

The Muslim Research Center was established in 2015 to promote the importance of diversity among Muslims from a research perspective. It has the following goals (Research Center for Muslim Affairs, 2021):

- To promote coexistence with Muslim culture in the region
- To construct models that contribute to regional revitalization and the development of local businesses
- To promote unique and practical research by scholars with diverse cultural backgrounds and research disciplines in collaboration with companies, organizations, and municipalities
- To promote research on Islam in fields such as business administration and finance, tourism, culture, philosophy, sociology, international relations, and political science

Furthermore, to improve our diverse environment on campus, the Center for Inclusive Leadership was founded in 2019 and has conducted theoretical research, practical research, and student education to evolve diversity on the campus and develop inclusive leaders through the activities described below (Center for Inclusive Leadership, 2021).

The Center for Inclusive Leadership will pursue and promote academic research, teaching methods, and business practices related to inclusive leadership. It endeavors to build a long-lasting network for inclusive leadership, one that is willing and able to undertake and face up to future challenges. Further, through the implementation of research activities, theories, and workshops, the center aims to act as a proponent for the concept of inclusion amongst experts and students alike, create solutions for advancing inclusion, and continually strive to achieve diversity.

Through the establishment of these centers, while maintaining the diverse environment at APU, we are developing leaders and are promoting cultural exchanges with the local community. Both students and faculty members have close ties with Beppu City and Oita Prefecture through the centers, and this helps advance global and regional development. Through the activities of these centers, many international students obtain jobs at local government offices or local banks or find employment in Beppu City and Oita Prefecture. Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University students are blended into Beppu City and Oita Prefecture; they learn to love a strange land and gain an understanding of strangers while gradually transforming Beppu City into an international city.

Conclusion: aiming for further diversity and inclusion

As explained above, APU has created a system that allows students to take all classes in English and Japanese at the undergraduate level, which is rare in Japanese universities. As a result, students from all over the world interact with Japanese students, blend into the city of Beppu, and absorb the Japanese language and culture. By interacting with students from more than 90 countries, Japanese students can acquire communication skills and cross-cultural adaptability, allowing them to interact with international students from a wide variety of countries and cultivate an international perspective. Such students are beginning to work in local and international companies, Nonprofit Organizations (NPOs), national governments, and international institutions.

At APU, 50% of the faculty comes from nations all over the world, and APU has promoted education and research from a wide variety of perspectives. The share of APU's international faculty since 2012 is presented in Table 10.4; it has generally held at around 50%. More than 80% of APU's faculty members have overseas education and research experience. As mentioned, APU's three 50s goal has achieved great results.

On the other hand, creating an environment of diversity and inclusion is not without its challenges. Japan's political and corporate realms lack diversity. We often hear that the proportion of women in high-level corporate positions and government is low in developed countries. Diversity has never been reflected in key spheres of Japanese society. The situation among faculty members and executives at APU is similar to that of Japanese society as a whole.

Ritsumeikan University has never had a foreign or female president in the more than 100 years of its history, and APU has never had a female president in its

Table 10.4 Ratio of international faculty members

	AY2012	AY2013	AY2014	AY2015	AY2016	AY2017	AY2018	AY2019
Faculty with overseas education and research experience (A)	139	150	150	147	148	139	141	138
International faculty (B)	79	87	86	87	85	82	81	80
Total full-time faculty (C)	163	175	174	173	170	167	166	167
Percentage of A/C	85.28	85.71	86.21	84.97	87.06	83.23	84.94	82.63
Percentage of B/C	48.47	49.71	49.43	50.29	50	49.10	48.8	47.9

Source: APU Office of President.

Table 10.5 Ratio of female APU executives

	2018	2019	2020
Female	13	15	10
Male	43	46	50
Total	56	61	60
Female (%)	23	25	17
Male (%)	77	75	83

Source: APU Office of President.

20-year history (though its second president was a Japanese-speaking Sri Lankan). Since 80%–90% of faculty recruitment applicants tend to be male and most faculty members at Japanese universities are Japanese, it is difficult to increase the number of female and international faculty members. Hence, female and foreign university presidents are rare in Japan.

Table 10.5 presents the percentage of female APU executives over the last three years. The percentage of female full-time professors is relatively low and that of female APU executives in 2020 (only 17%) is also too low.

The internationalization process at Japan's universities is led by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) via efforts such as Global 30 and Top Global University. Universities thus tend to promote internationalization by relying on subsidies from MEXT. Program-based internationalization has been developed using specially appointed faculty members and contract staff under fixed-term employment. When the subsidy period ends, the program tends to disappear. The effects of new internationalization projects launched with this type of subsidy are limited and rarely foster internalization and a diverse environment at universities.

Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University has been facing the challenge of internationalization, diversity, and inclusivity since its establishment. A big wave of internationalization and diversity has been coming due to a declining domestic enrollment resulting from Japan's declining birthrate and aging population. Few universities aim for the three 50s that APU has promoted, but many universities are starting to accept international students and hire foreign or female faculty members to promote internationalization and diverse environments. The APU has built an environment of diversity for students and faculty members. This must be increased, such as by increasing the share of foreign and women executives and applying additional measures to promote inclusion. Increasing the percentage of women and international faculty and staff members on its executive board will enable APU to evolve into a university with a truly diverse and inclusive environment.

The promotion of diversity and inclusion in the companies is being promoted mainly in Europe and the United States, but the promotion of diversity and inclusion in higher education in Japan is underdeveloped. APU is a rare university in Japan that has practiced diversity and inclusion in such an environment as a

pioneer. We expect that students, who grow up at APU that promotes diversity and inclusion, will help create a society of diversity and inclusion in Japan after they graduate from APU and when they work in Japan.

Acknowledgment

This research was supported by grants from the Private University Research Branding Project (Type B: Global Development Category) of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology and the Center for Inclusive Leadership in Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (<https://en.apu.ac.jp/cil/>).

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Part III

Commentary



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11 Diversity and inclusion

Historical perspectives on their significance and necessity in Japan

Haruaki Deguchi

Introduction

“Diversity and inclusion” has become a trendy term in recent times. Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (APU), of which I am president, opened a Center for Inclusive Leadership in April 2019, and APU’s parent organization, the Ritsumeikan Academy, issued the following chancellor’s declaration:

Toward the promotion of diversity and inclusion

Ritsumeikan was founded on the spirit of “Freedom and Innovation,” and, after the war, “Peace and Democracy” was defined as the educational philosophy of Ritsumeikan University. In this way, Ritsumeikan has respected a diverse array of values and has promoted institutional development that encourages thought and action that transcend existing frameworks and boundaries through dialogue and collaboration with others. We expressed this intent in the Ritsumeikan Charter by declaring that we are “committed to ... building an institution where many cultures coexist in the spirit of international mutual understanding.” In the R2030 Academy Vision as well, with an eye to creating new knowledge, we defined “realizing diversity and inclusion” as a pillar of the ideal shape of the Academy.

Respecting the diversity and lifestyles of others is vital for creating an organization where every member of the Academy can learn, pursue research, and work with peace of mind. To ensure that every member of the Academy can feel pride and joy in Ritsumeikan, we will promote diversity and inclusion by undertaking the action outlined below:

1. Ritsumeikan shall establish an Academy where its members—who have diverse backgrounds and circumstances in terms of nationality, ethnicity, religion, ideology, social attributes, disability, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, and age—respect each other and can learn, pursue research, and work together.

2. Ritsumeikan will raise awareness among its members about the promotion of diversity and inclusion, and it will cultivate individuals who can respect the rights of others.
3. Ritsumeikan will strive to create conditions for education, research, and employment by which its members can fully demonstrate their individuality and abilities.
4. Ritsumeikan will establish support systems for those members who require reasonable accommodation.
5. Ritsumeikan will send a strong message to the world about the importance of diversity and inclusion, and it will actively contribute to the realization of a livable society for everyone by seeking solutions to myriad social issues.

Yoshio Nakatani
Chancellor of the Ritsumeikan Trust
December 23, 2020

I use the history of the human race as a starting point to explain why diversity and inclusion are crucial issues in contemporary society.

Humanity's historical background

Homo sapiens originated some 200,000 years ago in the savanna country of eastern Africa. Around 100,000 years ago, the species spread beyond Africa and across the world, hunting giant herbivorous animals known as “megafauna.” This migration is called the “Great Journey.” Homo sapiens began living in permanent settlements (domestication) around 12,000 years ago. For the preceding 190,000 years, they were nomadic and led a hunter-gatherer lifestyle. According to anthropologist Robin Dunbar, they generally moved in groups of around 150 (known as “Dunbar’s number”). Imagine a group of Homo sapiens finds a freshwater spring and decides to set up a camp there. First, it would gather its babies together in one spot and have the elderly, injured, and incapacitated look after them. Both men and women would go out into the forest to obtain the day’s food. The men would hunt deer, elephants, and similar prey. Women would gather small animals, honey, and fruits. Naturally, it was not possible to catch megafauna every day. These Homo sapiens would obtain 60% or more of their energy from the food gathered by women. Three points emerge clearly from this factual outline:

- (1) Humans fostered sociality through group-based nursing in infants. (This means that daycare centers are perfectly natural environments for children.)
- (2) It was normal for men and women to have equal status as workers.
- (3) Childcare, housework, and care duties were performed by the group (society) as a whole, with men and women playing equal roles.

Homo sapiens went on to build cities and create civilizations from around 5,000 to 6,000 years ago. The world's oldest civilization, Sumer, was founded in the region of Mesopotamia, between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. The Sumerian people believed that humans had been crafted by gods out of the mud. This belief was adapted in the Book of Genesis of the Old Testament, which states that Adam was fashioned out of clay. However, the Sumerians also believed that, because there were so many people, the gods must work constantly to make them and that, just like humans, they would drink beer (another Sumerian invention) when they were tired of their work. They believed that a child would be born with a disability if the gods began their work again before they had fully recovered from the effects of their drinking. Their philosophy found absolutely no fault with the disabled themselves but simply acknowledged that a certain percentage of children would inevitably be born with disabilities as long as the gods kept drinking beer. The Sumerians coexisted on the basis of this idea, assigning people with disabilities to light occupations such as water drawers in temples. In other words, primordial human societies were inclusive from the outset: inclusion is by no means a new concept.

The concept that inhibits inclusion is that of separation. Without fear of misunderstanding, we could say that separation may have come about as part of the same historical trajectory that produced the industrial revolution. The factories that sprung up during the industrial revolution demanded an educated, homogenous labor force. Put simply, to work in a factory, you needed to have mastered basic “reading, writing, and arithmetic” and be physically capable. School education systems took shape, and those who did not meet certain standards were excluded: the separation process began. This kind of separation also proved expedient for the universal military conscription required by the nation-states that were taking shape around the same time. In this way, two great innovations in human history that emerged in Western Europe in the 18th century—the industrial revolution and the rise of the nation-state—brought the notion of separation to the fore; therefore, it is relatively new. Following the Meiji Restoration, Japan worked frantically to catch up to and surpass Western Europe by launching an industrial revolution and establishing a modern nation-state; the idea of separation then began to permeate all areas of Japanese society. Setting up facilities for the elderly on the outskirts of cities is a supreme example of separation.

Sociological considerations

Around 7.8 billion people live on this planet. No two people have exactly the same facial features; everyone is unique. What kinds of social structures have these unique humans created? I believe that the basic principle is “gradation.” For example, if you organize humans in order of how fast they can run 100 meters, Usain Bolt would be first and 7.8 billion people would follow him. Height, weight, voice pitch, mental arithmetic skills—there is an endless number of gradations we can use to categorize people. Within these gradations, the modern world has, for the sake of convenience, drawn artificial and arbitrary lines to differentiate

between people and manage them in a segregated fashion. This is precisely what is happening in Japan. Developmental disability is an example of this phenomenon. Since I started moving into educational circles, I have heard people joke that “almost all university professors have some kind of developmental disability.” If that is true and if a high-level profession such as a university professor can be held by someone with developmental disabilities, they should offer no impediment to living a productive life. The dividing lines used in social separation are highly abstracted, and even a minor change in thinking can lead us to draw them somewhere radically different. Nonetheless, needless conflict still arises, and your position in it depends on which side of the line you end up on.

Separation is also used in the government sphere. The divide-and-rule approach to government has created fissures within society and forced different groups into conflict. The archetypal example of the divide-and-rule method is the way India was governed by the British Empire. The colonial government inflamed tensions between Hindus and Muslims, eventually leading to the partition of India and Pakistan, two countries that continue to have strained relations. The Trump administration in the United States is another example. The philosophy of separation can easily cause social fragmentation and leave society more unstable. Nobody looks back happily on their experiences of being separated by teachers at school (such as the practice of separating students into fast and slow runners). We must conclude that separation is at odds with human nature and the fundamental patterns of social gradation.

The idea of separation probably reached its zenith in the 20th century. Its symbol is the *ville radieuse* (“radiant city”) concept proposed by architect Le Corbusier. This model city was divided into several zones—industrial, commercial, cultural, and residential—which were joined by a perfectly straight road to be used only by automobiles. Several cities, such as Brasilia, were built in line with this concept. Conversely, Jane Jacobs was diametrically opposed to Le Corbusier. She rejected the idea of zoning and argued that winding footpaths were much better suited to the human community. This is a prime example, in the context of urban studies, of the face-off between modernist separation and the kind of inclusion that is more aligned with human nature.

Problems in contemporary Japanese society

The fact that Japan’s economic cycle does not move smoothly is the greatest problem facing the country. Discussions should be based on figures, facts, logic, evidence, and science. Let us then review some figures showing what has happened in Japan over the past 30 years, since the start of the Heisei period. Japan’s share of global GDP has more than halved in terms of purchasing power parity (which is not affected by exchange rate fluctuations), from around 9% to around 4%. Japan has fallen from first to 34th place in the global competitiveness ranking (IMD). In 1989, 14 of the top 20 global companies in terms of market capitalization were Japanese. This was the era in which people praised Japan, and Vogel’s

book *Japan as Number One* was popular. Today, no Japanese company appears in the top 20; the highest is Toyota, which is 49th.

Japan has a population of more than 100 million; the only other developed nation in the world with a population of over 100 million is the United States. Its nominal GDP is third in the world after the United States and China. However, the true wealth of a society cannot be determined by its GDP. In 2019, the per capita GDP in purchasing power parity terms was \$65,000 in the United States and \$56,000 in Germany but only \$43,000 in Japan. This makes Japan 33rd in the world and the last among G7 countries. Moreover, Japan's growth rate has been lower than that of the United States and Germany over the last five years. In other words, not only is Japan at a low level in absolute terms, but it is also lagging behind countries such as the United States and Germany. This level does not place Japan even among the top five countries in Asia. Japan is failing to keep up not only with the city-states of Hong Kong and Singapore but also with Taiwan and is almost at the same level as South Korea, which is 34th globally.

Therefore, Japan is a poor country. Furthermore, population aging is more advanced in Japan than in other developed countries. As the population ages, expenditures in areas such as medical care and nursing care increase. The country with the lowest growth rate has the most severe aging problem. Japan's compound annual growth rate over the past three decades is 1%, while North America and Europe have recorded growth rates close to 2.5%, despite having average working hours that are shorter than Japan's. It is not surprising that Japanese society is pervaded by a strong sense of stagnation, of which high levels of youth suicide and depression among businesspeople could be signs.

There are two major schools of thought on why Japan's economy has fallen so far. The first is the deflation theory. So-called "reflationists" saw deflation as the root of all evil; in order to overcome it, they demanded fiscal easing by the Bank of Japan. The bank responded by pursuing quantitative easing almost to an extreme, which caused the Japanese bond market to become dysfunctional. The Bank of Japan and the Government Pension Investment Fund became the major stockholders in the equity market. However, commodity prices did not shift in the least. Yale University Professor Emeritus Hamada, viewed as the most significant figure of the reflationist group, has now changed his tune. The group has begun to invoke modern monetary theory to argue for the deployment of a fiscal policy designed to achieve a 2% increase in commodity prices. However, can the Japanese government succeed where the Bank of Japan failed? Grave doubts remain.

Others attribute the economic decline to the fixation on manufacturing as Japan's key strength, which has impeded the creation of new industries. The companies that have replaced Japanese firms as global leaders are in emerging industries, as epitomized by GAFA (Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon). New enterprises known as "unicorns" (recently founded, unlisted firms currently valued at 1 billion dollars or more) are seen as the next, post-GAFA wave. An article in the November 27, 2020, morning edition of the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* claimed

that, of the 500 top unicorns worldwide, only four were Japanese. This article represents the school of thought that argues that Japan's economic downturn is caused fundamentally by the nation's inability to produce unicorn firms that can pave the way into a new era. I am a history aficionado, and history tells us that all countries and societies that have achieved growth have generated new forms of industry. Therefore, this account is more persuasive than is the deflation theory.

Why has Japan been unable to generate unicorn firms? There are three keywords behind such firms: "women," "diversity," and "highly educated." Let us examine each of these in turn, beginning with "women." The locus of industrial structures across the world is moving from the manufacturing to service industries. Regardless of what statistics you look at and in what part of the world they were obtained, you will find that around 70% of service industry users are women. This means that the more the focus of the industrial structure shifts toward services, the wider the gap between demand and supply will become. In simple terms, the question is whether 50- and 60-something Japanese men, who see themselves as the backbone of the Japanese economy, actually understand what women want. To bridge this gap, more than 130 countries around the world have adopted "quota systems" to promote women's participation in the workplace. Women's status in Japanese society is, however, the lowest of all developed countries. This fact is widely referred to as the "121 Shock," referring to Japan's 121st place out of 153 countries on the World Economic Forum's Gender Gap Index in 2019. This is a product of severe gender discrimination of a type that is not found in other developed countries. Gender discrimination in Japan is deep rooted and will be discussed in more detail in the next section. Emmanuel Todd, a world-renowned expert in family studies, states that Japan's greatest medium-to-long-term challenge is depopulation. No country or region with a declining population has ever achieved prosperity in the medium or long term. Todd asserts that Japan's depopulation (i.e., its declining birthrate) is due to gender discrimination. This means that gender discrimination in Japan not only impedes the creation of new service industries but is also the root cause of population decline.

Now let us examine "diversity." The January 3, 2021, morning edition of the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* claims that "both monkeys and fish flourish through 'diversity'." In places where only one river flows into a lake, genetic variety is limited, but, where fish gather in the lake from numerous rivers, a wider range of fish gather, genetic combinations are more numerous, and the fish evolve more readily. The same holds true for all living creatures. When people come together from diverse backgrounds, new ideas can be created. Joseph Schumpeter famously defined innovation as a new combination of existing knowledge. Experience tells us that the further the distance between different items of existing knowledge, the more likely the innovation becomes. In other words, if everyone is raised in the same "river" (in this case, the workplace), it is difficult to innovate new enterprises and ideas. New ideas cannot be formed unless you bring in people from other rivers (different workplaces and vocations)—ideally people from rivers as far away as possible. Oita Prefecture was energized by hosting the 2019 Rugby World Cup. I went along to support the Japanese team, which fought gallantly

to finish in the top eight. The efforts of Japan's "One Team" were generously applauded by almost all Japanese people. However, would the team have made it to the final eight if it were composed solely of Japanese people born in Japan? Surely this achievement gave everyone a genuine sense of how "mixing makes us stronger." The same applies to business. The executive boards of GAFA and unicorn firms are multinational, similar to Japan's One Team. By contrast, the executive levels of Japan's major corporations are composed almost entirely of Japanese men in their 50s and 60s. Seen in this light, Japanese companies' disappearance from global rankings is predictable.

The final keyword is "highly educated." Manufacturing, in which Japan used to demonstrate such prowess, is a low-education industry. Worldwide, only approximately 40% of manufacturing industry workers have university undergraduate degrees or higher. I would suggest that, in the factory model of manufacturing, workers are required to satisfy just five conditions: they must have a certain level of education, be amenable, have patience, be cooperative, and respond obediently to the directions of their superiors. Most of the work in a manufacturing plant consists of practice-based conditioned responses rather than a competition of ideas. Reduced to ashes by its defeat in World War II, Japan pursued recovery using the factory model of manufacturing developed in the United States. Japan achieved a miraculous recovery aided serendipitously by the onset of the Cold War. In this process, the adaptation of Japanese society to the factory model was excessive. The university entrance rate in Japan is seven percentage points below the OECD average. The graduate school entrance rate is even lower, and the higher education enrollment rate (the proportion of 18- to 22-year-olds enrolled in higher education institutions) is lower still. Moreover, Japanese students do not study hard at university because employers either do not use university grades as a criterion for employment or give them minimal weight. The vast majority of young Japanese enroll in university to gain employment at a "good" company. These companies employ graduates on the basis of interviews focused on the five conditions I mentioned above and pay virtually no attention to their grades. In such a system, what incentives do students have to study hard at university?

The key factor in Japan's low level of higher education is long working hours. The average working hours of regular employees in Japan have exceeded 2,000 hours per year for the past three decades and show no sign of decreasing. Moreover, the bad habit of after-work drinking with co-workers remains firmly rooted in Japan. Required to spend long hours away from home in work-related settings, employees inevitably struggle to find time for study. Meanwhile, changes at the global and social levels are accelerating from year to year. With Japanese employees working long hours, going drinking with superiors and colleagues afterward, and spending little time at home, should anyone be surprised that new ideas are hard to come by? Japan will never be able to produce unicorns unless it pursues thoroughgoing work-style reforms and gives people time to study by meeting numerous people, reading copiously, and traveling to popular destinations. You can come up with new ideas only if you provide yourself with intellectual stimuli.

In summary, Japan has been unable to produce unicorns because our society has moved in a direction opposite to that defined by the three keywords “women,” “diversity,” and “highly educated.”

The problem of gender discrimination

Let us examine the problem of gender discrimination in more detail. Early Japan did not discriminate based on gender. It would seem that the name “Japan” first appears in the record of the Japanese mission to Tang China in 701 AD. The most powerful person in Japan at that time was Empress Jito. Among Japan’s unique creation myths, that of Ninigi’s Descent from the Heaven to the Earth tells of how the sun goddess Amaterasu entrusted the country called “Japan” to her grandson, Ninigi. Almost all other myths around the world feature a pattern of succession from parent to child, such as the transfer of power from Kronos to Zeus in ancient Greek mythology. The succession from grandmother to grandson was unprecedented. The myth reflects actual events when Empress Jito passed the throne onto her grandson Prince Karu after the death of his son, Prince Kusakabe. More concretely, following its defeat at the Battle of Baekgang, the Japanese Imperial Court established the country name “Japan” and the title of *Tennō* (Emperor/Empress) in order to compete with the Tang Empire. Empress Jito built fortified cities, introduced the *ritsuryō* legal system, and produced the *Chronicles of Japan (Nihon Shoki)*. Enlisting the help of her trusted retainer Fujiwara no Fuhito, the Empress created the Myth of Ninigi’s Descent from the Heaven to the Earth in order to ensure the successful transition of power to her grandson, Prince Karu. In other words, the nation we now know as Japan was created by a woman. Among the archaic imperial names that we use today, the posthumous names of the emperors Jimmu through to Konin are said to have been selected by scholar Omi no Mifune, among which he used the ancient Chinese phrase *keitai jito* (“to inherit power and maintain the bloodline”), encapsulating the notion of an unbroken imperial line. Omi no Mifune divided this significant term into two and bestowed one part each on Emperor Keitai, the founder of the imperial household in practical terms, and Empress Jito, who created the nation of Japan. This demonstrates the high regard in which these two individuals were held by the people of the Nara period.

The status of women in Japanese society remained high over the subsequent centuries. It was a woman named Fujiwara no Nariko who brought Emperor Nijo to the throne in 1158 (through collaboration with Fujiwara no Michinori) and another woman named Hojo Masako who sustained the Kamakura Shogunate after the death of Minamoto no Yoritomo. Even in the Edo period, the status of women was far from low, and two women even acceded to the imperial throne. The greatest crisis in the history of the Edo Shogunate occurred in 1716, when the seventh Shogun, Tokugawa Ietsugu, died prematurely, bringing to an end the main Tokugawa household line, which had continued for more than a century since the days of Tokugawa Ieyasu, Hidetada, and Iemitsu. In the proper order of things, the successor should have come from the Owari household, the foremost

among the three Tokugawa-branch households, but it was Yoshimune, from the Kishu household, who assumed the position of Shogun. Decisive in Yoshimune's promotion was Ten'ein, the widow of the sixth Shogun, Ienobu, who stated that he was Ienobu's choice to succeed him. It was thus a woman who nominated the Shogun, Japan's most powerful leader.

The position of women in Japan took a turn for the worse during the Meiji period. After two centuries of following a misguided policy of isolation, Japan found itself lagging well behind Western powers. The coup d'état of the Meiji Restoration marked the start of an intense catch-up process. Abe Masahiro, a senior councilor in the final years of the Shogunate, drew up a grand design for nation-building that involved activating an industrial revolution, establishing a modern nation-state, and opening Japan up to the world, as encapsulated in the slogans of "national opening," "national wealth," and "military strength." It was around this time that gender discrimination was introduced. The Meiji government adopted the emperor system and the household (*ie*) system as the core elements of the new nation-state. Japan's ancient Shinto beliefs were seen as devoid of logic, and supremacy was accorded to Confucian principles. The Confucian idea of men's superiority over women began to permeate Japanese society. The rule that a married woman should adopt her husband's family name was introduced at this time: previously, married couples in Japan had retained separate family names. (More detail on these matters can be found in Tsuyoshi Kojima's *The Emperor and Confucian Thought: How Traditions Were Created* [Kobunsha Shinsho Publishing, in Japanese].) Women were urged to demonstrate the "three forms of obedience": obey your father, obey your husband after marriage, and obey your eldest son when you are old. Celibacy before marriage was also used to ensure that households were preserved (by ensuring that women gave birth at the proper time).

Following World War II, these vestiges of the Meiji period were augmented by the gendered division of labor under the factory model. Manufacturers sought strong men who could work for long hours. The longer a factory can keep its production line running each day, the more televisions, automobiles, and other products the factory can produce. Under such a system, it is more efficient for society if the women stay at home so they can care for working men. This is how the gendered division of labor (men at work, women at home) came about. To promote this division, the government adopted skewed arrangements, such as the dependent spousal tax deduction and the type-3 insured parties scheme for social insurance. The myth was propagated that mothers should stay home to care for their children until the age of three, making the system of gender discrimination complete.

There are thus two layers to gender discrimination in Japan; it is thus ingrained exceptionally deeply. It is particularly difficult to stamp out because it operates in the realm of "unconscious bias." In *Gender Studies through Controversial Advertising* (Kobunsha Shinsho, in Japanese), Kaku Sechiyama presents concrete data showing clearly that, even today, women often cannot get their parents to agree to send them to university far from home or to allow them to spend an extra

year preparing for university entrance exams. Giving the example of a woman writing to her parents to say how grateful she is that they granted her such a year, Sechiyama asks whether such gratitude is really necessary when it is seen as natural for many men to be granted such opportunities.

Japanese men who help with housework, child rearing, and nursing care tend to be seen as desirable partners, though the idea of “helping out” positions tasks such as housework, child rearing, and nursing care as essentially women’s roles—a bias that is unthinkable by international standards. In a society still dominated by this kind of outmoded thinking, why would a woman consider giving birth to many children? She knows that the more children she has, the harder her life will become. In this sense, Emmanuel Todd’s argument that population decline is caused by gender discrimination is on target. Initiatives such as quotas and days on which women are given preferential treatment are still condemned by some as a form of reverse discrimination, but such people unwittingly overlook the fact that men continue to enjoy a privileged position in Japanese social structures.

The idiosyncratic employment practices that became established in postwar Japan—such as the mass graduate recruitment system, lifetime employment, age-based seniority, standard retirement age, and enterprise labor unions—are also intertwined in complex ways with the gendered division of labor. Between the period when Japan regained its sovereignty after the war and the bursting of the economic bubble some four decades later, Japan achieved high growth, averaging over 7% per year. An annual interest rate of 7% is enough to double savings within 10 years. When the annual growth rate is 7%, you also need to increase the labor force by 7% each year in order to maintain your operations. This need prompted companies to rush to recruit students before they had graduated—the practice of mass graduate recruitment. Fortunately, Japan’s population continued to grow throughout the postwar period, so employers were able to meet their burgeoning labor force needs. In the tight labor market of a growing economy, employers did not want to lose the staff they had managed to recruit. Companies in the same industry thus entered into a gentleman’s agreement not to poach employees from one another. This made it impossible for employees to switch jobs, and employers could capture them within a lifetime employment system. Employers provided employees with an incentive to adhere to this arrangement by creating a system in which a portion of each employee’s wages was withheld and paid later as a retirement benefit. This led to the idea that, once you commit to employing someone for their entire working life, it is useful to provide them with experience in workplaces across Japan; this in turn produced the concept of a portable generalist employee. As generalists are used only within the company they work for, labor unions had no choice but to set up as company-specific organizations. Because almost all women were housewives under Japan’s gendered division of labor, companies could assign their employees to other work locations. In the developed countries of North America and Europe, only employees who wish to relocate are required to do so. Companies cannot relocate employees at will if men and women work equally.

Lifetime employment also leads to a system of age-based seniority. Nobody wants to evaluate other individuals' work performance. This may be possible for job types where results are clearly visible, such as sales. In other areas, however, such as back-office operations, evaluating workers' performance is extremely difficult. By contrast, the rules are clear and management is simple in the age-based seniority system, wherein workers become a team leader within five years, an office manager within ten years, and so on. If a company is growing fast and its sales double in ten years, its wages increase proportionally, so employees are unlikely to be dissatisfied with this arrangement. However, age-based seniority means that senior management is inevitably skewed toward the older age group, so companies set a standard retirement age (executive retirement age) to ensure that the organization is rejuvenated. Companies that are growing fast can afford to pay retirement benefits, so, once again, few workers complain. In this way, mass graduate recruitment, lifetime employment, age-based seniority, standard retirement age, and enterprise-specific labor unions are customs predicated on an increasing population and high growth, and they operate interdependently with the gendered division of labor.

The preconditions of high growth and population increases in Japan have collapsed. The labor market will surely shift in the direction in which it has moved in all other countries—with employers recruiting new employees year round (if and when required), workers changing employers as a matter of course, seniority based on performance and free from considerations of age and gender, and labor unions operating at the industry level. Several Japanese scholars have contrasted the membership-based system of labor (lifetime employment) with a job-based system. However, labor markets were originally founded on job-based systems. The membership-based system was merely a temporary arrangement that emerged under specific conditions (a sustained period of high growth and rising population), so we need to acknowledge that it is not an appropriate object of comparison.

In any case, gender discrimination has been nurtured in Japan over the 120 years of modernization since the Meiji Civil Code established the household system mentioned above and in step with the employment practices established after World War II. Therefore, we must accept that it will be difficult to overcome. This is precisely why Japan is ranked 121st. However, a society that cannot stamp out gender discrimination, which is the first step toward diversity and inclusion, will not be able to accommodate other forms of diversity, such as LGBTQ and foreign residents. The eradication of gender discrimination is the principal challenge facing Japan in the pursuit of diversity and inclusion.

Significance and necessity of diversity and inclusion in contemporary Japanese society

It should be clear from the account provided thus far why diversity and inclusion are essential in contemporary Japanese society. Diversity and inclusion are not essential for achieving lofty principles and ideals, such as equal rights for men

and women and coexistence with foreign residents of Japan. Rather, diversity and inclusion need to be seen as a policy challenge that must be addressed if Japan is to overcome problems such as economic stagnation and population decline and make significant progress.

How, then, do we make diversity and inclusion a reality? Let us consider gender discrimination. As mentioned, gender discrimination has spread its roots far and wide in Japan, even at the level of unconscious bias. Digging them out will require the pursuit of public information activities based on science and evidence because, as Francis Bacon said, “knowledge is power.” For example, the system of childcare leave for men was not established so that men could help their female partners care for their children. Research findings thus far allow us to explain the real need for such a system as follows. The difference between humans and other animals is that our heads grew larger, and we learned to walk on two feet. However, these two characteristics have given rise to a serious problem: the human pelvis is small and the birth canal is narrow. A baby can pass through a narrow birth canal only if its head is small. There is only one solution to this dilemma: to give birth to babies so young that they are almost premature. This is why, unlike other animals, human babies cannot walk and will die if their mother does not stay nearby and care for them. When giving birth, women’s bodies produce a bonding hormone, oxytocin. This is the true source of motherly love. We now know that men also produce oxytocin if they care for their newborn children for one or two months. In other words, humans do not care for their children because they are lovable; rather, their feelings of love arise in the course of caring for their children. This is why the government is moving toward legislating a system of childcare leave for men.

One can overcome unconscious bias only by learning about the kind of science I have touched on above. History, including the history of *Homo sapiens* and gender discrimination in Japan, should be shared widely. Naturally, the aforementioned distortions such as the dependent spousal tax deduction and the type-3 insured parties system should be abolished as soon as possible, and quota schemes should be introduced. In particular, quotas in politics should be readily achievable if political leadership simply resolves to do so. The method is extremely simple: political parties should receive reduced subsidies if they fail to put forward equal numbers of male and female candidates in national elections.

Next, let us consider the issue of coexistence with people with disabilities. One particular scene stands out in my memory. In a television program focusing on female members of local government assemblies, a female assembly member advocating for greater representation by women and people with disabilities in the assembly was confronted by an older male assembly member, who said, “There are no sloping paths that can be used by people in wheelchairs to access the assembly chamber. We would need funds to install them. How can we possibly raise funds when the budget is tight?” Funds are indeed short, right across Japan. If this issue is continually redirected into a question of priorities and cost–benefit, the problems faced by people with disabilities will remain unsolved indefinitely. The coexistence of people with disabilities is a question of human rights. As was

the case in ancient Sumerian society, human rights need to be given the utmost priority rather than being approached in cost–benefit terms. In both the economy and in government, we need to search for approaches that are better attuned to the gradations within humankind.

Data show that Japan has the world’s fourth largest intake of immigrants after Germany, the United States, and the United Kingdom. If you visit a convenience store in Tokyo, you will clearly see how Japanese people’s daily lives are underpinned by migrant workers. We cannot move forward without tackling the issue of how to coexist with foreign residents in Japan. In truth, concepts such as “immigrant” and “refugee” are new, like the idea of separation. Until the 19th century, when the nation-state model was established and national borders came to be managed strictly, people were able to move freely, and the “immigration” and “refugee” concepts did not even exist. The Pilgrim Fathers traveled to America on their own free will to carve out a new world.

Under the Immigration Control Act amended in April 2019, Japan is seeking to accept around 340–350 thousand new foreign nationals over the next five years. I cannot help thinking, however, that the government sees this as a stopgap measure—a plan to import cheap labor to fill the current shortage of workers in Japan. In particular, the technical intern system adopted in 1993 lies outside the minimum wage framework and has come in for harsh criticism as a form of modern slavery. The first step is to apply minimum wage rules to technical interns. From a medium-to-long-term perspective, the most rational approach is to accept more international students. There are currently 1.1 million international students studying in the United States, and they are said to contribute approximately 4.5 trillion yen annually to the U.S. economy. In the sense that it earns foreign currency, university education is an export industry. Moreover, not only do international students generate effective demand in the order of 4.5 trillion yen, but they also give birth to many unicorn firms. Thus, Japanese universities should make serious efforts to compete for talented international students. The first hurdle is the introduction of a university entrance date in the fall and the implementation of English-language admissions. This issue needs to be tackled proactively with a view to Japan’s long-term future.

Discussions about coexistence with foreign residents often produce agreement on general principles but disagreement on details. Oita Prefecture, where I live, recorded the highest number of foreign workers in 2020. Everyone responded positively to this news. Securing workers is a top priority for Oita Prefecture, which is struggling with an ongoing population outflow. In this same prefecture, however, some people expressed opposition to the establishment of a Muslim cemetery because, they claimed, of the risk that contaminated water from the cemetery could flow into the domestic water supply. Like Christians, Muslims believe in the Final Judgment and thus do not accept anything other than burial after death: if a body is cremated, it cannot be resurrected on the Judgment Day. Kyushu has no Muslim cemetery, so deceased Muslims have to be transported to places where such cemeteries exist. In this state of affairs, Muslims cannot feel secure living and working in Oita. I was born in the village of Misugi (now the

city of Tsu) in Mie Prefecture. It was a depopulated region, so my grandparents were buried rather than cremated. I had never heard about domestic water pollution from a burial site until now. However, this simple objection to one specific issue stands in the way of achieving true coexistence with foreign residents.

Germany is probably the country that has achieved the greatest success in accepting immigrants and refugees in the medium to long term. In Germany, based on the idea that language and culture are inseparable, immigrants and refugees are obliged to undertake 500–600 hours of German language studies. It is a costly system to run, but, viewed in the long term, it is the most cost-effective way of enabling foreign residents to live successfully in German society. I find this a highly thought-provoking approach. At APU, we accept international students through English-basis admissions in the fall, and they account for one-half of our overall student population of 6,000, which hails from more than 90 countries and regions. However, we also offer international students an intensive program of Japanese language education. In principle, all international students live in dormitories in their first year and then move to downtown Beppu in their second year. This Japanese language education is the reason why there has been virtually no trouble between international students and local residents in the 20 years since the APU opened. Through their Japanese language studies, the APU's international students learn about Japanese culture and customs.

Conclusions

Ultimately, diversity and inclusion genuinely reflect the true nature of human society—which is gradation—in our government, economy, and social affairs; they are the foundation for creating a livable society for everyone. Just as every person has unique facial features, we each have unique tastes and ways of thinking. Our individual differences are much greater than differences in ethnicity, gender, and age. Accepting this fact is a precondition for diversity and inclusion. Humans dislike nothing more than having values forced upon them. In this sense, I find the debate over separate family names for married couples currently raging in Japan to be the ultimate in absurdity.

The idea behind separate family names is that a married couple should be free to decide whether to retain their separate family names or adopt a shared one. When I need to make a decision, I usually think along the vertical and horizontal axes. The vertical axis represents the historical or temporal axis, while the horizontal axis represents the global or spatial axis. The human brain has not evolved in the least over the past 10,000 years, and human beings are a single species, so it should be possible to make most judgments by looking at these two axes. Until the Meiji Civil Code was enacted, people in Japan traditionally had separate family names, as seen in the example of Minamoto no Yoritomo and Hojo Masako. Among the 37 OECD countries—the club of developed countries—none forces couples to adopt the same family name as a legal condition of marriage. The United Nations has found that more than 95% of couples adopt the male partner's family name upon marriage and has on three separate occasions called for this to

be corrected, pointing out that it is a form of gender discrimination. Those who oppose having separate family names appear to argue that it would result in a loss of cohesion within the family, but what about the sense of cohesion with the family of the female partner, who is forced to adopt her husband's family name upon marriage? Listening to the arguments of those opposed to separate family names is like seeing the ghost of the Meiji household system. The barrier of the Japanese language currently spares Japan from the ridicule which would inevitably ensue if the rest of the world could follow this debate unfiltered. People around the world would simply dismiss the opposition by saying that they can simply choose to adopt a shared family name for themselves but have no right to impose their values on those who wish to keep their names separate. The achievement of separate family names for married couples is surely an important milestone on the road to realizing diversity and inclusion.

Acknowledgment

This work was supported by grants from the Private University Research Branding Project (Type B: Global Development Category) of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology and the Center for Inclusive Leadership in Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (<https://en.apu.ac.jp/cil/>).



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