VIOLATION TO THE CONCEPT OF MASCULINITY
IN JOYCE LEBRA’S *THE SCENT OF SAKE*

AN UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

Presented as Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of *Sarjana Sastra*
in English Letters

By

**SINDHY SINTYA MIANANI**

Student Number: 134214136

ENGLISH LETTERS STUDY PROGRAM
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LETTERS
FACULTY OF LETTERS
SANATA DHARMA UNIVERSITY
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September 18, 2017

iii
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Defended before the Board of Examiners on October 11, 2017 and Declared Acceptable

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Sanata Dharma University
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Yogyakarta, September 17, 2017

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CONTROL WHAT YOU CAN CONFRONT WHAT YOU CAN'T
For those who have shed blood, sweat, and tears
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and more importantly, I would like to express my gratitude to Jesus Christ. Recalling the memories of my four years in college, it is indeed His grace that helps me to survive the years of blood, sweat and tears.

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Moreover, I would like to dedicate this undergraduate thesis to my parents and my brother. Their support is what motivates me to finish this research. I can never describe how thankful and grateful I am to be a part of this family.

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Sindhy Sintya Mianani
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TITLE PAGE</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCEPTANCE PAGE</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPROVAL PAGE</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEMBAR PERNYATAAN PERSETUJUAN PUBLIKASI</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOTTO PAGE</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION PAGE</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRAK</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Background of the Study</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Problem Formulation</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Objective of the Study</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Definition of Terms</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF LITERATURE</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Review of Related Studies</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Review of Related Theories</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Character and Characterization</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Gender</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Review in <em>Daikokubashira</em></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Theoretical Framework</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY</strong></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Object of the Study</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Approach of the Study</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Method of the Study</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER IV: ANALYSIS</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. The Characteristics of Jihei</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Jihei’s Characteristics as a Form of Violation to the Concept of Masculinity Recognized in <em>Daikokubashira</em></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Jihei’s Characteristics and Their Relation to The Masculine Qualities ................................................................. 34
2. Jihei’s Unmasculine Behaviours as a Form of Violation to the Concept of Masculinity Recognized in *Daikokubashira* . 49

**CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION** ................................................................................................................................. 55
**BIBLIOGRAPHY** ................................................................................................................................................. 58
**APPENDICES** ...................................................................................................................................................... 60
   A. Summary of *The Scent of Sake* ................................................................. 60
   B. List of Japanese Terms Mentioned ............................................................. 61
ABSTRACT

MIANANI, SINDHY SINTYA. Violation to the Concept of Masculinity in Joyce Lebra’s The Scent of Sake. Yogyakarta: Department of English Letters, Faculty of Letters, Sanata Dharma University, 2017.

Gender is the social construction of elaborating sex, which is the biological category of being male or female. It is said to be a very complex phenomenon and one has to acquire it through process of socialization. Sex itself determines gender, while gender determines gender roles, whether it is masculinity or femininity. This undergraduate thesis discusses Joyce Lebra’s The Scent of Sake as a novel which portrays a violation to the concept of masculinity recognized in Japanese male gender roles, or also known as daikokubashira, through the analysis of its male character, Jihei.

Two problem formulations are discussed throughout this undergraduate thesis. The first one is how Jihei is depicted as a man in the story. The second one is the reasons why Jihei’s characteristics are considered as a form of violation to the concept of masculinity recognized in daikokubashira.

To answer the questions, this undergraduate thesis uses library research as the method of the study since the sources to conduct the analysis are taken from printed sources and online sources. Also, gender studies is applied as the approach of the study because the concern of this undergraduate thesis is the concept of masculinity recognized in daikokubashira which is believed by the Japanese.

The result of the analysis shows that the characteristics of Jihei are unmasculine, thus violating the concept of masculinity based on daikokubashira. Jihei is depicted as a man who is not very skilled in sake business, hesitant, uncompetitive, not very dominant, irresponsible, dependent and disloyal. All of his characteristics are rejecting the masculine qualities. Hence, they are also said as violating the concept of masculinity recognized in daikokubashira due to the fact that they do not symbolize reliability, strength, stasis, wealth and authority as a daikokubashira should be. So, it can be said that Joyce Lebra’s The Scent of Sake portrays masculinity as a mandatory characteristic which is supposed to be possessed by men.
ABSTRAK

MIANANI, SINDHY SINTYA. Violation to the Concept of Masculinity in Joyce Lebra’s The Scent of Sake. Yogyakarta: Program Studi Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Sanata Dharma, 2017.


Untuk menjawab pertanyaan-pertanyaan tersebut, skripsi ini menggunakan studi pustaka sebagai metode penelitian karena sumber-sumber yang digunakan untuk melakukan analisis diambil dari sumber-sumber tercetak dan sumber-sumber daring. Selain itu, gender studies juga diterapkan sebagai pendekatan penelitian karena yang menjadi perhatian skripsi ini adalah konsep maskulinitas berdasarkan daikokubashira yang diperdayai oleh masyarakat Jepang.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Study

Elaine Showalter in *Feminism and Literature* states the term gender is used to mean the social cultural and psychological constructs imposed upon biological sexual difference (1990: 197). It is the social construction of elaborating sex, the innate state of being female or male, and is said to be very complex phenomenon. To acquire gender, ones have to identify it through a process of socialization and also a reflection on the existing power relations between women and men.

In line with Showalter, Devor (1998: 10; 23-29) adds that sex determines gender, and gender determines gender roles, whether it is masculinity or femininity. Masculinity, according to Stets and Burke in *Femininity/Masculinity*, is “the degree which a man sees himself based on what it means to be a man in society”, while femininity is found in women who are “investing the domestic role and being passive, cooperative and expressive.” Hence, masculinity and femininity are rooted in the social, or one’s gender, rather than the biological, or one’s sex (1998: 3).

Being masculine or feminine is also known as the mirror images (Devor, 1998: 28). Women are supposed to be feminine and men are supposed to be masculine. While ones cannot maintain their gender roles, it is considered as a violation.
When talking about gender roles, it is inevitable to separate the notion of gender stereotypes. A gender stereotype consists of beliefs about the psychological traits and characteristics of men and women, as well as the activities appropriate to men or women. Gender roles are defined by behavior and influenced by beliefs and attitudes about masculinity and femininity accepted in the society. Therefore, gender roles furnish the material for gender stereotypes.

Joyce Lebra’s The Scent of Sake is a good example of how masculinity and femininity do not occur innately in one’s sex. Taking the setting of Tokugawa period in Japanese, The Scent of Sake tells a story of a young woman named Rie Omura, a daughter of ninth-generation sake brewing family of Kinzaemon IX who marries a mukoyoshi chosen by her parents, Jihei. This decision is made to secure and expand their family business relation. Through a thorough consideration, her parents chose a mukoyoshi, an adopted son-in-law, to continue Kinzaemon IX’s position as the head of the house as well as the head of the sake brewery house, or also known as kuramoto. Though Jihei is outwardly in charge of the House of Omura and The White Tiger, Rie is the brain behind the operations and often makes important and risky business decisions. Thus, leaving Jihei no roles for himself as the head of the Omura House and White Tiger.

The feudal Japanese who were influenced by Confucian ideals, expected men to be aggressive, independent, dominate, competitive, confident, and analytical. All of these traits were needed to lead a household and to manage the family’s estate. Men were expected to be leaders, risk-takers, decision makers, and profoundly loyal to his lord and emperor. (www.japanpowered.com)
The characteristics mentioned were based on the well-known expression of Japanese masculinity, *daikokubashira*. *Daikokubashira* itself means the great center pillar supporting the house of the family and symbolizes reliability, strength, and stasis.

Instead of focusing on Rie Omura, this undergraduate thesis concerns on how Jihei is depicted as a man. It is because most of studies related to Joyce Lebra’s *The Scent of Sake* analyze Rie Omura as a female who is oppressed by society norms. In addition to that, most of Japanese authors tend focus on the oppression of female characters in their literary works, while in fact the men are also oppressed. To conduct the analysis of Jihei’s traits later, a close examination on the feudal Japanese gender roles and *daikokubashira* are mandatory.

**B. Problem Formulation**

This undergraduate thesis is conducted based on the following problems.

1. How is Jihei depicted as a man in the story?
2. Why are Jihei’s characteristics considered as a form of violation to the concept of masculinity recognized in *daikokubashira*?

**C. Objective of the Study**

Based on the problems mentioned before, this study is written to produce a better understanding on how Jihei, as a man, is depicted in the story by looking at his characteristics. Then, as the following point, it is meant to seek the reasons why Jihei characteristics are considered as rejecting the concept of masculinity recognized in *daikokubashira* in feudal Japan era.
D. Definition of Terms

To avoid misunderstanding, there is two terms to be further explained.

1. Violation

The definition of violation mentioned in this undergraduate thesis is from the masculine paradigm. According to O’Neil, violation is a result from the devaluation of men gender role, or masculinity. Such devaluations are negative critiques of oneself or others when conforming to, deviating from, or rejecting stereotypical gender role norms of the idea of masculinity. Violation occurs when men harm themselves, harm others, or are harmed by others because of destructive norms related to the idea of masculinity (2016: 13).

2. Masculinity

Pilcher and Whelehan in 50 Keys Concept of Gender Studies define masculinity as “the set of social practices and cultural representation associated with being a man” (2004: 82). It means that masculinity is the practices and representation within society which are related with being a man. In line with Pilcher and Whelehan, Helgeson also adds that masculinity also includes “the traits, behaviors and interest that society has assigned to the male gender role” (2012: 4).

However, the concept of masculinity is far from stable and fix because though there some agreements among some people about a given definition, such definition is never entirely agreed upon and always being contested in some ways (Reeser, 2010: 3). By saying so, Reeser suggests that masculinity is a dynamic
concept because there are always ways to challenge the definition of masculinity which has been agreed upon.

According to Gale, the reason why masculinity is a complex concept is because “the meanings of masculinity vary over four different dimensions; thus four different disciplines are involved in understanding gender—anthropology, history, psychology, and sociology.” It means that the meanings of masculinity may differ over anthropological, historical, psychological, and sociological dimensions which are closely related to gender.

From the definitions mentioned earlier, it can be concluded that masculinity is the quality associated with men’s characteristics influenced by social practices and cultural representation. The concept of masculinity itself is rather dynamic and far from fix, because its meanings are varies over anthropology, history, psychology, and sociology point of views which are related closely to gender.
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A. Review of Related Studies

Two related studies are reviewed in this chapter. The first one to be reviewed is an article written by Merry Rullyanti and Sinta Purnama Sari entitled “An Analysis of Libertarian Radical Feminism on Rie’s Character in Joyce Lebra’s The Scent of Sake” focuses on libertarian radical feminism characteristic of Rie Omura as the protagonist of the novel who lives in the patriarchal society.

The analysis starts with the way Rie acts toward her patriarchal family that dictates her to marry and tells her to be a devoted wife to her husband. Then, Rullyanti and Sari connects the three concepts of libertarian radical feminism from Tong Millet to the characteristics of Rie.

The first one is an educated woman. At that time, women’s role are limited only to domestic aspects, they don’t have responsibility to other aspects such as in economy, politic and education. However, it is different to Rie’s life, even though she is a woman, her parents allow her to study sempoa and read books (2015: 30).

The second concept is a surviving woman. Rie is considered as a surviving woman because she can survive from complicated problems of marriage and business (2015: 31).
The third concept is an androgynous woman. Rie becomes an independent woman, an androgyny since she refused to depend on men, even though she is married to Jihei. Further Rullyanti and Sari argues that

An independence of men was the key from feminist mindset, especially radical feminism. By destroying the man domination among women, it meant that women were not meant be passive, such as men were not meant be active. The solution if women do not want to depend on man by developing combination of the best feminine and masculine character until reflected the unique from each woman (2015: 32).

In the end of the research, Rullyanti and Sari concludes that Rie Omura shows libertarian radical feminism characteristics. Those characteristics are shown in her way of being independent from her husband and surviving from all of the problems in her life. Those two characteristics are able to be achieved by Rie because she, in the first place, is an educated woman.

The second study to be reviewed is Ester Sekar Palupi’s undergraduate thesis entitled Women’s Power as Depicted in The Scent of Sake by Joyce Lebra focuses on woman’s power, specifically in the character of Rie Omura, in a capitalist and patriarchal Japan in the 1800s. Palupi’s main discussion involves how Rie Omura uses her power in patriarchal society and how the novel actually supports patriarchy.

Using the theory of Marxist Feminism, she argues that The Scent of Sake portrays an image of a woman who behaves against the mainstream culture/norms and able to control men since she believes that the oppression in the protagonist of the novel is caused by the relationship of women and social class (2014: 12).

In her analysis, Palupi starts with how the arranged marriage between Rie and Jihei is a reflection of capitalism. Rie cannot free herself from the societal
values and tradition. This condition occurs because as a daughter of large sake house Rie’s marriage is not a personal interest, but rather as a family’s interest to gain and expand their business in the future.

Palupi’s argument is strengthened by Bates’, Denmark’s and Held’s statement that “women with property and wealth have no freedom to choose whom they are married to” (2014: 14). Rie, being the one and only heir of her family, is very well aware that this is her duty to give her family the next successor to maintain the ie. She chooses to ignore her feeling because her family’s business is more important. Palupi then argues that by doing so, Rie unconsciously makes herself as a “commodity” (2014: 15).

Following the first argument, Palupi mentions and discusses the way husband and wife relationship depicted. Women should wake up before men and prepare breakfast for men and the workers in the household, while men will wake up by the time breakfast is ready. It means that women are responsible for household chores and are not allowed to be involved in the business; otherwise the sake will become sour. This tradition puts women in a marginalized position in the business. Further, Palupi states

In spite of the tradition, it was also Rie who ran the business although she could not take care of the financial matter. In other words, Rie plays a very important role in her family’s business but she never gets recognition for it, and she becomes labour for men. This condition reflects what Rubin said that women serve as unpaid domestic labour (2014: 17).

Another example of capitalism in the novel discussed by Palupi is the task of mothering. The task of mothering will be fulfilled only if a woman gets pregnant. The society will considered it as a big problem if a woman has not
pregnant yet as soon as she gets married. Rie who has not been pregnant yet feels as if her role to fulfill her duty to maintain the ie has failed, thus causing her pride shattered. To solve this problem, Rie’s parents ask her to bring in the geisha’s son as the next successor of the House of Omura. Rie has no choice but to obey (2014: 18-22).

Following the first problem, Palupi discusses Rie’s power as a woman. She argues that Rie’s power over many things in the house is because she has access to the family’s money. This condition, then, confirms that economy influences her power more than the fact that she is a woman (2014: 26).

As the conclusion, Palupi states that Joyce Lebra’s The Scent of Sake portrays the oppression of women in a capitalist society. On the other hand, Rie is able to fight against the oppression because she has power. However, her actions turn out to strengthen the patriarchy itself. Thus, the novel actually supports patriarchy (2014: 27).

The two studies mentioned earlier take Joyce Lebra’s The Scent of Sake as the object of the study, so does this undergraduate thesis. However, in terms of discussions the two studies mentioned is different from this undergraduate thesis since both of them discussed Rie Omura’s characteristics from feminism point of view. Instead of discussing Rie Omura, this undergraduate thesis focuses on Jihei and attempts to reveal why Jihei’s characteristics are considered as a violation to the concept of masculinity as implied in daikokubashira. Hence, this undergraduate thesis will try to complete and expand the findings in the studies mentioned earlier.
B. Review of Related Theories

Two theories are applied in this undergraduate thesis. They are:

1. Character and Characterization

A character, according to Abrams in *Glossary of Literary Terms* is a person represented in dramatic or narrative works and interpreted by the readers as being who is endowed with moral, dispositional and emotional qualities expressed through what they say or what they do (1999: 33).

In *Understanding Unseen: An Introduction to English Poetry and English Novel for Overseas Students*, Murphy states that there are nine ways to observe a character in order to be able to comprehend the character’s traits. They are: personal description, characters as seen by others, speech, past life, conversation of other characters, reactions, direct comments, thoughts, mannerism (1972: 161-173).

   a. Personal Description

   It is the description of a person’s appearance and clothes given by the author. The author describes the character in details, such as what their face looks like, what the color of their skin, what their eyes color and what kind of clothes that they are wearing. All of them are expected to be able to help the readers imagine the character described.

   b. Characters as Seen by Others

   The author attempts to describe a person’s traits through the eyes and opinion of other characters. Through the eyes and opinion of other characters, the reader can get a reflected image.
c. Speech

The author gives the readers a description of character or an insight through what the character says whenever s/he is in conversation with other characters or states his/her opinion.

d. Past Life

What happened in the past life provides the readers clues or keys to any events which is believed to have shaped a person’s traits. This can be done by the direct comment of the author, the character’s thoughts, and through the dialogue of other characters.

e. Conversation of Others Characters

A clue to a person’s character can be derived from the conversation of other characters and what they say about the person being talked about.

f. Reactions

It is how a person reacts toward various situations and events. A person’s reactions can give clues to the readers about his/her characteristics.

g. Direct Comments

It is a description or a comment from the author to a person’s characteristics directly.

h. Thoughts

The readers can recognize one’s character through direct knowledge of what a person has in mind presented by the author. In this case, the readers have privilege position to come the inmost thought of a person in a story.
i. Mannerism

It is the way author describe one’s mannerism, habits or idiosyncrasies which may give clues to the readers about one’s traits.

2. Gender

According to Eckert and McConell-Ginet, gender is the social construction of elaborating sex, the innate state of being female or male (2003: 10). It is influenced by “the social categories of male and female. These [social] categories are distinguished from one another by a set of psychological features and role attributes that society has assigned to the biological category of sex” (Helgeson, 2012: 3).

Gender is different from sex which refers to the biological category of being male or female. Sex itself determines gender and gender determines gender roles which are categorized into two main domains, masculinity and femininity (Devor, 1998: 27-28).

To put it simply, masculinity or instrumental behavior is the accepted gender role for male, while femininity is the accepted one for female (Devor, 1998: 28). Masculinity itself means “the set of social practices and cultural representation associated with being a man” (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004: 82). While femininity is “investing the domestic role and being passive, cooperative and expressive behavior” (Stets & Burke, 1998: 1).

Moreover, Parsons and Bales, quoted in Helgeson’s Psychology and Gender, state that there is a relation between superior power and instrumentality and a relation between inferiority and expressivity. They believe that the
distinction between the men and women role was both instrumental/expressive as well as a superior/inferior power (2012: 60).

In addition, Hofstede also argues that

Masculinity stands for a society in which social gender roles are clearly distinct: Men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success; women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. Femininity stands for a society in which social gender roles overlap: Both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life (2001: 297).

This means that masculinity is very distinctive in society, for it is associated to men. Yet, femininity seems overlap because both women and men are expected to have the quality of being feminine. Therefore, it can be said that the notions of femininity and masculinity is very fluid and dynamic.

Below is a table of instrumental and expressive behaviour based on Broverman and colleagues’ research taken from Helgeson’s *Gender and Psychology*. Broverman and colleagues’ research aims to assess people’s perceptions of masculine and feminine behavior.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not at all aggressive</td>
<td>Very aggressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all independent</td>
<td>Very independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very emotional</td>
<td>Not at all emotional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not hide emotion at all</td>
<td>Almost always hide emotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very easily influenced</td>
<td>Not at all easily influenced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very subjective</td>
<td>Very objective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dislikes science and math very much</td>
<td>Likes math and science very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very excitable in minor crisis</td>
<td>Not at all excitable in minor crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very passive</td>
<td>Very active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all competitive</td>
<td>Very competitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trait</td>
<td>Opposite Trait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very illogical</td>
<td>Very logical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very home oriented</td>
<td>Very worldly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all skilled in business</td>
<td>Very skilled in business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very sneaky</td>
<td>Very direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not know the way of the world</td>
<td>Knows the way of the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feelings easily hurt</td>
<td>Feelings not easily hurt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all adventurous</td>
<td>Very adventurous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has difficulty making decisions</td>
<td>Can make decisions easily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cries very easily</td>
<td>Never cries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almost never acts as a leader</td>
<td>Almost always acts as a leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all self-confident</td>
<td>Very self-confident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very uncomfortable about being aggressive</td>
<td>Not at all uncomfortable about being aggressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all ambitious</td>
<td>Very ambitious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to separate feeling from ideas</td>
<td>Easily able to separate feelings from ideas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very dependent</td>
<td>Not at all dependent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very conceited about appearance</td>
<td>Never conceited about appearance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thinks women are always superior to men</td>
<td>Thinks men are always superior than women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not talk freely about sex with men</td>
<td>Talks freely about sex with men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the table mentioned earlier, the result showed that the masculine traits focused on competence, rationality, and assertion, while the feminine traits focused on warmth and expressiveness which is similar to the conventional masculine and feminine stereotypes. It shows that the expected distinctions between masculine and feminine traits meet the condition in the society. Thus,
whoever crosses the distinction lines of gender traits will be considered as violating the gender stereotypes.

However, since masculine and feminine qualities shown in the table are the expected traits based on people’s perceptions. It means that those qualities are constructed and not always essential in ones’ characteristics. Hence, it can be said that those masculine and feminine qualities shown earlier are in line with Butler’s statement that “there would be no true or false, real or distorted acts of gender” (quoted in Storey, 2008: 162).

C. Review in Daikokubashira

Since the object of this undergraduate thesis is a novel taking place in feudal Japan, the idea of masculinity believed in feudal Japan is worth to ponder. The idea of masculinity believed in feudal Japan is daikokubashira. Daikokubashira is an expression used to refer to the figure of an ideal male as a breadwinner who supports the house as the head of the family. Daikokubashira symbolizes reliability, strength, and stasis, wealth and authority (Gill, 2009: 144).

Being a patriarchal society, Japan operates within the culture which owns a set of self-perpetuating system which facilitates its hold on patriarchy. One of the examples of patriarchal culture can be seen from the way feudal Japanese preserved the male privileges in most aspects of life.

During Tokugawa, or also known as the Edo period, the feudal Japanese were influenced by Confucian ideals. They expected men to be aggressive, independent, dominate, competitive, confident, and analytical. All of these traits were needed to lead a household and manage the family’s estate. Men were
expected to be leaders, risk-takers, decision makers, and profoundly loyal to his lord and emperor. (www.japanpowered.com)

The characteristics mentioned were based on the well-known expression of Japanese masculinity, daikokubashira. According to Gill, daikokubashira literally means a big black central pillar which holds up a house. This term is also used as a metaphorical expression of an ideal male as a breadwinner in the same manner as the central pillar which supports the house. Daikokubashira itself symbolizes reliability, strength, and stasis, wealth and authority (2009: 144).

Tracing back to its historical background, the image of daikokubashira, or male breadwinner, was originally projected into the family into the figure of a father as the head of the house who controlled and protected the rest of the family members after the government’s policy that the emperor of Japan as the daikokubashira who had brought up and educated the nation as his sons and daughters. This policy was necessary for the establishment of ie. In other words, the concept of daikokubashira was exploited to reinforce the ideology of the nation state under the emperor. Hence, the term began to be used only to refer to the figure of a father up to this day (Yamada, 1993: 56, 59).

In Japan, a father is usually described as setai nushi or shujin which means head of the home, koshu which means head of the ie, and taisho which means chief or leader. All of these addresses reveal the status of a father as the leader of the family who mediates his family to the outside world. His symbolic role as a daikokubashira is baased on the image of Daikoku-sama, the Shinto god who brings good fortune, guardian of the well-being and success of the ie. By adapting
the image of Daikoku-sama, a father is expected to bring the good fortune within his family as well as to be the guardian of the house (Jeremy and Robinson, 1989: 39).

During the Tokugawa Era, a father as the breadwinner or daikokubashira of the family was expected to support the family through his economy activity by having connections outside the house. Without his support, the household would collapse. This idea very vividly conveys the importance of the presence of a father or the daikokubashira as the head as the house to be the one who is responsible for his dependent wife and children. In return, he is free to devote his physical and emotional labour to his work. Thus, it becomes the standard for men of entering the mature manhood (Matsunaga, 2000: 150).

In addition to Matsunaga’s opinion, Dasgupta adds that “the daikokubashira archetype is not the empirical reality but a standard to which all Japanese men aspire to be.” It is because when a man becomes the head of the house, he will have certain privileges, like being allowed to take the first bath, being served first at meals, being waited upon. All of these are seen as the strategies which are used to retain and uphold the structures that legitimize, enforce and perpetuate their authority over women (2005: 168).

D. Theoretical Framework

This undergraduate thesis is entitled Violation to the Concept of Masculinity in Joyce Lebra’s The Scent of Sake.

The focus of this undergraduate thesis is the unmasculine behavior of Jihei. The main purpose is to reveal Jihei’s traits as a form of violation to the
masculinity recognized in daikokubashira which became the standard of masculinity to the feudal Japanese men.

Two theories are applied in this undergraduate thesis, i.e. character and characterization and also theory of gender. The theory of character and characterization is used to analyze the characteristics of Jihei. Then, theory of gender is combined to reveal the unmasculinity in Jihei’s traits which is rejecting the standard of masculinity recognized in daikokubashira.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

A. Object of the Study

The object of this undergraduate thesis is Joyce Lebra’s *The Scent of Sake*. *The Scent of Sake* is a historical novel taking the setting of Japanese in the 1800s. *The Scent of Sake* was written in 2008 and all of the brewing processes and traditions mentioned in this novel were based on research conducted by Lebra from some sake brewers in Akita, Niigata, Fuukushima and Kyushu (Lebra, 2008: 366). The novel consists of 44 chapters and total 364 pages in length. *The Scent of Sake* tells the story of Rie Omura, a daughter of sake brewers Kinzaemon IX and Hana. Rie is the only heir of the house since her brother died at the age of two. This makes Rie determined to make her family sake brewery house, The White Tiger, become the best one in Japan. Rie knows from an early age that the house, inextricably linked to the family sake business, and its reputation come first above all things. Rie’s parents then decide to adopt a mukoyoshi for Rie in order to succeed her father’s role as the head of the house.

Although Rie shows the tendency of being a shrewd business woman, she is not allowed to enter the brewery area because it is believed that a woman’s presence in the kura will make the sake sour. This means that her husband, Jihei, resumes sole responsibility for the future of the family business. Though her husband, Jihei, is outwardly in charge of the House of Omura, Rie is the brains behind the operation and often making important and risky business decisions.
since she has the seal of The White Tiger. Rie is always scheming, whether it involves innovation in sake brewing and its distribution or the marriages and the house status of her children and grandchildren, leaving no room for Jihei to fulfill his duty as the head of the house.

This situation causes Jihei to vent out his frustration by visiting geisha houses and getting drunk. Gradually, Jihei’s bad habits keeps worsening and then he commits suicide after Rie finds out that he had tried to ruin the sake a few years prior his death.

**B. Approach of the Study**

This undergraduate thesis applies gender studies as the approach of the study. Gender studies was originally developed from the second wave feminism around 1985 (Schor, 1992: 275). It is an enlargement of what was initially known as women’s studies.

As an interdisciplinary study, gender studies identify, analyzes, and often critiques the disparate effects of patriarchal organizations on women and men. Its focus is the exploration of the ways femininity and masculinity are represented in society (Gale, 2007).

**C. Method of the Study**

This undergraduate thesis used library research as the method of the study. Two kinds of sources used were primary and secondary sources. The primary source is a novel by Joyce Lebra entitled The Scent of Sake. The secondary sources are taken from Murphy’s Understanding Unseens: An Introduction to English Poetry and English Novel for Overseas Students, 50 Key Concepts in
Gender Studies, Helgeson’s The Psychology of Gender, Yamada’s “Metaphors of a Pillar in English and Japanese”, Gill’s “Structuring Masculinity on the Japanese Margins” and some studies on the novel, articles as well as online sources.

Several steps were applied to conduct the analysis. The first step was reading the novel thoroughly and as well as reading some studies and articles on the novel to discover a new topic to be discussed in this undergraduate thesis.

The second step was analyzing the problem formulations stated in the first chapter. Since the first problem is about the characteristics of Jihei, the theory of character and characterization was used. By using the theory of character by Murphy, Jihei’s characteristics were analyzed through his personal description, past life, speech, reactions, character as seen by other characters, conversation with others, thought, and mannerism.

After getting the clear picture of Jihei’s characteristics, the third step was to relate those characteristics with the theory of gender. The theory of gender was used to reveal how Jihei’s characteristics were considered as a form of violation to the concept of masculinity based on daikokubashira.
CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

This study concerns on the unmasculine traits shown by Jihei. Based on the problem formulations, the discussions are divided into two subchapters. The first subchapter is the discussion of how Jihei is depicted through his characteristics in the story. The second subchapter, which is divided into two parts, discusses the categorization of Jihei’s characteristics by looking at the masculine qualities and then followed by the discussion why Jihei’s unmasculine behaviours are considered as a form of violation to the concept of masculinity recognized in daikokubashira.

A. The Characteristics of Jihei

In Lebra’s *The Scent of Sake*, Jihei is not the protagonist of the novel. The protagonist is Jihei’s wife, Rie Omura. However, there is significant reason why Jihei is analyzed in this undergraduate thesis. The reason is that Jihei is the only male character who does not act upon the concept of masculinity based on daikokubashira.

Murphy (1972: 161-173) states there are nine ways to observe a character. Those nine ways are personal description, character as seen by another, speech, past life, thoughts, reactions, conversation of other characters, direct comment and mannerism. The methods applied to understand the characteristics of Jihei are character as seen by another, past life, thoughts, reactions, conversation of other characters and mannerism. Jihei is described as follows:
1. Not very skilled in sake business

After marrying Rie, Jihei finally succeeds Rie’s father to become the head of The White Tiger as well as the head of the family. However, Jihei is not very skilled in managing The White Tiger’s sake business. Jihei is not very good when dealing with other sake brewers because according to Yamaguchi, the current head of Sake Brewers Association, Jihei will not “do for White Tiger” thus will be “so much the better for [Yamaguchi’s House]” (Lebra, 2009: 12). Yamaguchi’s remark about Jihei’s capability of managing sake business implies that Jihei is not very skilled since he comes from a small brewery house, though in the beginning of the novel, Jihei’s skill has not been revealed yet.

Another example that Jihei is not very skilled in managing sake business is shown by the fact that he never offers solutions to overcome The White Tiger’s business problems, even though he is the next successor of The White Tiger. Most decisions to overcome the problems are made by Rie because she considers Jihei as a fool who “would resist any forward move by White Tiger” (Lebra, 2009: 26).

However, Jihei is oblivious of this fact since he constantly mentions that “I feel I’m as much as a brewer as anyone, after so many generations” (Lebra, 2009: 33). While in fact, Rie knows that Jihei is incapable of being a businessman because in Rie’s eyes Jihei “[has] demonstrated so little ability” in managing The White Tiger since the very beginning of their marriage” and now The White Tiger’s destiny rests on her shoulder (Lebra, 2009: 73).
2. Hesitant

As a businessman who has been trained since he was a child to succeed his family’s business, Jihei is still pretty hesitant in making decision or giving his opinion regarding The White Tiger’s business matters even though he is the successor of The White Tiger. In addition to his habit of pulling eyebrows, it also can be seen from the way he shows no response when Kinzaemon IX talks about how well their shipment to Edo is. Instead of giving opinions like Kin or Rie, Jihei is just nodding along and drinking his sake.

Upon hearing this good news, Rie is the one who suggests that they should increase their sake shipment by 20% since people in Edo have more leisure time than them, the merchants. However, Jihei thinks that it is too risky because “[they] don’t want to do anything to jeopardize [their] local sales” since they are secure. Jihei is afraid that their sake will not sell that much because according to his family’s philosophy, costumers are always more interested in quality over quantity (Lebra, 2009: 26).

After hearing Jihei’s response, Rie concludes that her “husband seems much more cautious in business than [Kin] or Father” (Lebra, 2009: 58). Nonetheless, Jihei’s response is affected by the fact that he originally comes from a smaller sake house. In small sake houses, it is written in their house rules to take no unnecessary risks. It is their survival strategy since small sake houses can’t afford the risks of facing financial problem, unlike big sake houses which are already well established (Lebra, 2009: 58).
3. Uncompetitive

Born in Okamoto brewery house does not make Jihei a competitive businessman. As mentioned in the previous discussion on how Jihei is a hesitant business man, it also makes Jihei as an uncompetitive business man. He does not show enough efforts to make The White Tiger as the number one sake house in Japan. It can be seen from the way he “resists any forward move by White Tiger” (Lebra, 2009: 26).

When Rie and Jihei are having conversation that White Tiger should start to expand their business in money lending along with gold and silver exchange and buying sake from other small brewery houses, Rie also suggest that they should start buying and selling kura. However Jihei reacts by responding negatively towards her suggestion.

Jihei frowned. “You’re always pushing the first in everything. I thought a brewer’s task is to brew good sake and not worry about anything else, except maybe lending money.” That doesn’t work on our scale here in Nada,” Rie said, stating the obvious. Why Jihei didn’t understand this by now? “We have to be always on the lookout for something new as well as trying to improve our quality. Otherwise, we’d be relegated to second or third class, if we survive at all.” She shook her head (Lebra, 2009: 161).

From the excerpt mentioned, it can be seen that Jihei does not think that selling and buying kura is necessary since The White Tiger has already rank first in Sake Brewers Association’s leader board. Jihei also adds that a brewery house’s main business should only be brewing good quality sake while also lending money to people and not buying or selling kura, or any other kinds of business. Hearing Jihei’s response, Rie argues that White Tiger should expand their business. It is because being a number one brewery house also means trying out
and diversifying other kinds of business as well as maintaining their sake’s quality in order to survive. Otherwise, The White Tiger’s rank may drop to second or third. So, it can be said that Jihei is not competitive enough compared to Rie who insists on being the first in business.

4. Not very dominant

In *The Scent of Sake*, Jihei is the mukoyoshi of The Omuras. A mukoyoshi is a fully grown up man who is adopted into a family who has no male successor in order to become their daughter’s husband. This tradition becomes necessary when a family possesses a well-established business empire or a recognized name and has no male successor, but has an unmarried daughter of a suitable age. A man is chosen by the parents especially for his skills, health and good character to be their daughter’s husband. Then, this man will take his wife’s surname, as well as her family tradition and join his wife's ie. Thus, a mukoyoshi is much likely a reversal version of a bride (Onogwu, 2015: 141-143).

Jihei becomes a mukoyoshi after he is adopted by The Omura House because The Omura House lost their son at a young age and needs a male successor to be the head of their sake brewery house, The White Tiger. Thus, in order to fill the position of the male heir, Rie’s parents choose her a suitable candidate for her.

“[Rie’s] father and [Rie’s mother] are especially interested in the Okamoto son, Jihei. He has been apprenticed to the Ohara house, so [they] know he has had excellent training, and the reports [they] hear are good” (Lebra, 2009: 6).

As a mukoyoshi, Jihei is expected to be accustomed to his wife’s family tradition. His surname is changed into Omura and he also joins his wife’s koseki,
family’s registration of legal residence. In addition, by becoming Rie’s husband, it means that Jihei is officially appointed as the next successor of the White Tiger as well as the head of The Omura House.

After Kinzaemon IX retired in 1841, Jihei is appointed as the head of The White Tiger. Despite his status as the head of The White Tiger, Jihei is not very dominant in his family’s business matter. When Rie asks him to come to the office more often in the evening, Jihei responds,

“Well, you know, between you and Father and Kin, it seems everything gets decided. I sometimes wonder where I fit in, where I should focus my attention.” He twirled his eyebrows. “Of course I work here everyday with Father and Kin” (Lebra, 2009: 33).

By responding like that to Rie’s request, it implies that Jihei himself thinks that he is not very dominant in the house despite his status as the head because every decision has been made and decided by Rie, Kinzaemon, or Kin. It leaves him no room to fills his role as the head of White Tiger.

Besides, the fact that he shows so little ability to manage their business causes his status as the head of White Tiger to be despised by his wife, Rie. It can be seen when the ceremony day of Kinzaemon’s retirement takes place and Jihei delivers speech in front of his employees that

“I will do my best to continue the leadership and long tradition of this house in the production of fine sake. I will always strive to ensure that next generation continues the venerable traditions of White Tiger.”

Before finishing he asked for the continued efforts of Toji and the kurabito in maintaining the White Tiger quality, and of Kin and the clerks in selling to Edo and elsewhere. When he stopped, cries of “Banzai” and the raising of cups followed. Rie detected less enthusiasm than for her father’s words (Lebra, 2009: 142).
Not only when delivering speech, when Jihei and Rie discuss the necessary about buying water from Yamaguchi’s brewery, Jihei opposes her because he doubts that Yamaguchi will sell his water to The White Tiger. He thinks that as their competitor, Yamaguchi will not do a thing like that because it means that they will lose their costumers to The White Tiger. However, instead of stating his opinion right away, Jihei just “glowers” and “pulls his eyebrow” as signs of his disapproval (Lebra, 2009: 145).

In addition, as the head who is supposed to hold the stamp of The White Tiger to make the business’ final decision, Jihei does not have any access to hold the possession of the stamp because Rie owns it after her father passed away. Her father considers that is Jihei is not trustworthy since he shows no ability managing The White Tiger. Hence, Jihei is considered as lazy and dumb enough by Rie and her father since he “[doesn’t] know anything” about their business (Lebra, 2009: 145).

5. Irresponsible

A proof that Jihei is an irresponsible person is shown when he and Rie are talking about their childhood. He mentions that as a son of sake brewers, he admits that he was

. . . trained as a child too, but then it was always [his] elder brother who would succeed, so there wasn’t the same pressure on [him]. Still [his] father always said that there was sake running in [their] veins, not blood” Jihei said, smiling at his joke (Lebra, 2009: 23).

By saying so, Jihei unconsciously admits that even though he was trained when he was a child, he didn’t have to worry about having big responsibility
toward his family’s business because he was not the successor of Okamoto House. It implies that even at a young age, he was not really responsible.

Another proof that Jihei is an irresponsible person is implied in his habit of pulling eyebrows. Jihei always pulls his eyebrows whenever he is not sure about something or has no opinion to say against Rie or Kinzaemon. From the way Rie’s sees this habit, she calls this as “a vague unease. A sense that Jihei [is] not quite up to the responsibilities he [is] being called on to assume” (Lebra, 2009: 184).

Furthermore, Jihei’s drinking problem also takes role in his irresponsibility as the head of the house. Jihei’s drinking problem is shown in the very beginning of the story when he drunkenly rape Rie after the wedding is over.

When she entered the anteroom she saw that Jihei was already recumbent on the futon. eyes closed; his breath smelling of sake even from where she stood…Some time during the night, she could not say just when, Jihei come to her abruptly, grunting and sweating, without saying anything, without a word that might have shown consideration for her (Lebra, 2009: 17).

Often, Jihei eludes Kinzaemon and other family members that he needs to do some errands. Rie knows that Jihei lies to them. Because of this, Rie always make excuses that he is attending meeting at the capital or negotiating with other sake houses about shares. However, instead of attending Sake Brewers Association meetings and learning how the sake market has been, Jihei wanders to Sawaraya and Kitaya to have fun with geisha. The result of his irresponsible act is that The Omura House have to adopt the children of geishas along with giving the geishas money each year (Lebra, 2009: 84).
Not only going out with geishas and spawning children all over the town, Jihei is also always drunk whenever he is at work. Furthermore, due to his heavy drinking problem, Jihei is

... no longer functioning effectively as the house head even where formalities were concerned. Rie [sees] to it that Yoshitaro always [accompanies] his father whenever a negotiation or meeting [is] involved. It [is] simply not safe to leave matters to Jihei alone. Within the house, everyone now realized that for all practical purposes Yoshitaro [is] the head of the house (Lebra, 2009: 184).

The excerpt mentioned explains that in Rie and everyone in the house no longer consider Jihei as the house head because his irresponsibility of getting drunk so that Yoshitaro who is supposed to succeed him in the future has to take his role as the house head and deal with business matters.

Throughout the time, Jihei’s drinking habit becomes worse. At the night when Jihei, Kinzaemon and Rie are talking about expanding their business, Rie notices that “Jihei’s face was becoming bloated and flushed as its normal state, and that he smelled of sake even during the day” (Lebra, 2009: 137).

Upon seeing Jihei’s state, Rie tells her father. Fortunately, Kinzaemon also notices it too. The next morning at the office, Kinzaemon decides to talk to Jihei regarding this matter. Kinzaemon is afraid that The White Tiger’s reputation will be endangered because of this. He also mentions that he has been delaying his retirement because he knows Jihei’s lacking of skill. Nevertheless, Jihei argues that

“I was selected for this position, and I have done my best for White Tiger. I have worked hard.” His face was mouse

Kinzaemon’s expression was intent “I know you spend nearly every evening at the Sawaraya. I urge you to curb your drinking. You have let it get out of hand. You owe it to the house.” Kinzaemon looked at Jihei, then
placed his hands on the table and pushed to his feet. “Don’t forget your obligation,” he said as he turned and left (Lebra, 2009, 138).

By saying so to Jihei, it can be seen that Jihei’s drinking problem is actually due to his frustration about responsibility in managing The White Tiger. Jihei thinks he has done his best as the next successor who will represent Omura House and The White Tiger, while in fact all he has ever done is causing loss to his family because Jihei’s drinking problem is seen as “the most obvious of his weaknesses” that “embarrass or dishonor the house” (Lebra, 2009: 198).

6. Dependent

As discussed in the previous section, one of Jihei’s irresponsible behaviours is his drinking problem. Due to his heavy drinking problem, Jihei indirectly becomes very dependent on Rie, Toji and Kinnosuke in judging the brew because Jihei is usually “absent during the days and evenings.” Furthermore, it is also because Jihei “seldom [does] anything on his own initiative” in any “planning and decisions making” They are always “done by Rie and Kinnosuke with Yoshitaro, and where the kura [is] concerned, by Toji” (Lebra, 2009: 167).

Not only absent in the office, another case of Jihei being dependent is shown by the fact he never goes to Sake Brewers Association’s meetings by himself. Instead of being the head who is supposed to attend the meeting of Sake Brewers Association by himself, Jihei is always accompanied by his son, Yoshitaro. It is caused by the fact that Jihei is no longer functioning effectively as the house head since he is always drunk. Leaving business matters to Jihei can affect The White Tiger because “every public appearance counts where the house’s reputation is concerned.” Rie and Kinzaemon are afraid that their business
acquaintances notice and such issue can become the talk to bring The White Tiger’s reputation as a brewery house (Lebra, 2009: 185). Hence, it can be said that Jihei is dependent on Yoshitaro so that he can cover his inability whenever there is a negotiation or meeting involved. Otherwise, The White Tiger will face financial loss.

7. **Disloyal**

Jihei is a disloyal man both to his wife and The White Tiger. His disloyalty towards his wife is shown by his philandering with geishas named O-Toki and O-Yumi. Often, during the night when all of his family members have gone to sleep, he manages to elude Rie and other family members that he needs to do some errands, then

... he hailed a rikisha at the corner bridge. As he stepped up into the seat he said, “The Sawaraya,” and the rikisha puller made off down the road at a run (Lebra, 2009: 34).

The result of his philandering is that The White Tiger’s next successor is a son and two daughters from geishas. His philandering ruins the pure blood of sake brewer of The Omura House. Thus, in order to save The Omura House’s reputation, those children are adopted and raised as The Omuras. Taking care of this matter is necessary since in feudal Japan, children from geishas are considered as a disgrace for the house. However, admitting geishas’s children as their children means that The Omura House has to give monthly expenses to the geishas too.

Not only philandering, Jihei also attempts to ruin The White Tiger’s sake. Jihei decides to do this because he wants to punish Rie for taking his role as the
house head. His plan goes smoothly. No one knows about his true color. They assume that Yamaguchi is the one who is responsible for this. After 2 years, a news from geishas houses reaches Rie’s ears.

“I understand that it was you who ruined our sake. It has become the talk of the geisha houses, I hear.” Rie’s words split the air in staccato syllables. “What were you thinking, trying to ruin our house? it wasn’t enough that you were drinking yourself into idiocy.” She breathed rapidly and tried to loosen her obi. Jihei gasped and reddened, swaying on his zabuton. “But….. I….” “You are no longer the head of the house. You have brought us dishonor and disgrace, nearly caused our financial ruin” (Lebra, 2009: 193).

Jihei ruins the sake’s taste by turning its taste to sour so that The White Tiger can’t sell the sake. The result of his irresponsible act nearly causes The White Tiger experiences financial loss. Jihei does this because he is frustrated that Rie “pushed him so hard.” In addition, he doesn’t have any authority and “any role for himself” because Rie is the one who always makes decisions regarding business matter and family matter, even though he is the head of the house (Lebra, 2009: 197).

B. Jihei’s Characteristics as a Form of Violation to the Concept of Masculinity Recognized in Daikokubashira

This subchapter discusses Jihei’s characteristics as a form of violation to the concept of masculinity recognized in daikokubashira. For a clearer analysis and better comprehension, this subchapter is divided into two parts. The first part discusses the categorization of Jihei’s characteristics by looking at the masculine qualities. Then, the second part discusses the reason why Jihei’s unmasculine behaviours are considered as a form of violation to the concept of masculinity recognized in daikokubashira.
1. Jihei’s Characteristics and Their Relation to The Masculine Qualities

As avowed by Pilcher & Whelehan, masculinity, or also known as instrumental behaviour, means “the set of social practices and cultural representation associated with being a man” (2004: 82). It means that masculinity is the accepted gender role for male. In line with Pilcher and Whelehan, Stets and Burke also adds that femininity is “investing the domestic role and being passive, cooperative and expressive behaviour” (1998: 1).

Below is a table of instrumental and expressive behaviours which is used as a guideline to determine whether Jihei’s characteristics are considered as masculine or unmasculine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not at all aggressive</td>
<td>Very aggressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all independent</td>
<td>Very independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very emotional</td>
<td>Not at all emotional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not hide emotion at all</td>
<td>Almost always hide emotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very easily influenced</td>
<td>Not at all easily influenced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very subjective</td>
<td>Very objective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dislikes science and math very much</td>
<td>Likes math and science very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very excitable in minor crisis</td>
<td>Not at all excitable in minor crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very passive</td>
<td>Very active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all competitive</td>
<td>Very competitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very illogical</td>
<td>Very logical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very home oriented</td>
<td>Very worldly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all skilled in business</td>
<td>Very skilled in business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very sneaky</td>
<td>Very direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not know the way of the world</td>
<td>Knows the way of the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feelings easily hurt</td>
<td>Feelings not easily hurt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all adventurous</td>
<td>Very adventurous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has difficulty making decisions</td>
<td>Can make decisions easily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cries very easily</td>
<td>Never cries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almost never acts as a leader</td>
<td>Almost always acts as a leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all self-confident</td>
<td>Very self-confident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very uncomfortable about being aggressive</td>
<td>Not at all uncomfortable about being aggressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all ambitious</td>
<td>Very ambitious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to separate feeling from ideas</td>
<td>Easily able to separate feelings from ideas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very dependent</td>
<td>Not at all dependent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very conceited about appearance</td>
<td>Never conceited about appearance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thinks women are always superior to men</td>
<td>Thinks men are always superior than women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not talk freely about sex with men</td>
<td>Talks freely about sex with men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows masculine and feminine qualities expected by society. However, since the table is the expected masculine and feminine qualities, it can be said that those qualities are not always essential in ones’ characteristics and are merely constructed characteristics of men and women should be and not always essential in ones’ traits, whether it is masculinity or femininity.

Such issue is also found in Lebra’s *The Scent of Sake*, especially in the character of Jihei. Since the concern of this study is a male person, the masculine qualities will be used as a guide to categorize Jihei’s characteristics whether they are considered as in line with or breaking the masculine qualities. Jihei’s characteristics are categorized as follows.
a. Jihei’s being Not Very Skilled in Sake Business as a Contradiction to the Quality of “Very Skilled in Business” and “Knows the Way of the World”

In the previous discussion, Jihei is described as not very skilled in managing sake business. Firstly, it contradicts the quality of being very skilled in business because according to the table, society tends to expect that men are skilled in business. As mentioned earlier, Jihei comes from a brewery house too even though it is smaller than The White Tiger. By looking at his family background, The Omura House who have selected him as the mukoyoshi for Rie expect that Jihei has the ability of managing business since he “was trained as a child too”. Further they also hear that “he has been apprenticed to the Ohara house, so [they] know that he has had excellent training, and the report we hear are good” (Lebra, 2009: 6; 23).

Secondly, it contradicts the quality of knows the way of the world because being not skilled in business also means that Jihei does not figure out how the business world works in a certain way. Such as, how being creative and not afraid of taking risks are necessary to solve any business issues. It is no doubt that being in a business world means that ones have to overcome the obstacles of business in order to survive. In *The Scent of Sake*, Jihei though being the head of The White Tiger does not show the ability of being creative in varying his business because he is too afraid of taking any risk. It is shown when The White Tiger almost experience financial loss because of shipwreck, he offers no solution, but merely just say “what a disaster” (Lebra, 2009: 81).
Other cases are shown when The White Tiger’s *kura* burns and followed by incident when the *sake* becomes sour. These incidents make The White Tiger lose their costumers and almost bankrupt.

The room was tense and silent for several minutes except for the rapid clicking of the wooden counters. “We’ll have huge debts with a loss of this magnitude,” Kinno said finally. “We’ll have to rely on sales of Shrine Water, plus our income from gold-silver exchange and moneylending to survive until next year. I’m not sure if we can make it.” He sighed, leaned back and looked at Rie and Jihei. “What do you suggest?” Jihei wondered (Lebra, 2009: 157).

Despite the fact that The White Tiger faces these problems, yet still, Jihei offers no solution to overcome their financial loss. Though he is in charge of being the head, he has no ideas of his own. By behaving in such way, it can be said that Jihei does not have the quality of very skilled in business and knows the way of the world.

b. Jihei’s being Hesitant as a Contradiction to the Quality of “Can Make Decisions Easily” and “Very Self-Confident”

In *The Scent of Sake*, Jihei is described as a businessman who is pretty hesitant in most of The White Tiger’s business decisions. First, this characteristic contradicts the quality of can make decision easily since Jihei is depicted as a man who is way too cautious when it comes to business deals. It is seen from the way he refuses to increase the *sake* shipment to Edo because he thinks it is too risky.

He pulled at his collar uncomfortably. “But twenty percent? Isn’t that quite risky? Shouldn’t we start more gradually, say five percent?” Jihei shifted on his *zabuton*. He snorted. He reached for his cup. “And we don’t to do anything to jeopardize our local sales, do we? They’re secure.” He pulled at his eyebrows. (Lebra, 2009: 26)
Second, Jihei’s hesitancy contradicts the quality of very self-confident. As stated earlier, Jihei is way too cautious when it comes to business that he always “refuses any forward move by White Tiger” (Lebra, 2009: 26). He doesn’t want to take any risks because he is too afraid of facing financial loss and thinks that a brewery house should only focus its business on sake. By reacting that way, Jihei indirectly shows that he is not confident about his ability to overcome such issue if that happens unexpectedly. Thus, in other words, Jihei’s being hesitant contradicts the quality of can make decisions easily and very self-confident.

c. Jihei’s being Uncompetitive as a Contradiction to the Quality of “Very Competitive”, “Very Aggressive” and “Very Ambitious”

As discussed earlier, Jihei is not as competitive as Rie is. By having the characteristic of being uncompetitive, it contradicts the quality of being very competitive since Jihei does not show enough efforts to make The White Tiger as the number one sake brewery house in Japan. It can be seen from the way he responds negatively to Rie’s suggestions to start buying ships for The White Tiger, buying sake from smaller brewery house and selling kura as ways to expand and vary their business.

By being an uncompetitive business man, this characteristic automatically also contradicts the quality of being very aggressive and very ambitious. As mentioned earlier, Jihei always resists “any forward move by The White Tiger” because he is way too cautious that it might ruin their business (Lebra, 2009: 26).

It implies that Jihei does not being aggressive and ambitious enough to keep The White Tiger’s rank stay in the first position. It is because his concern is
that a brewery house’s main business should only be brewing sake which have a
good quality to keep their customers satisfied while also managing the lending
money business too balance their finance, not buying and selling with kura or any
other kind of business (Lebra, 209: 161).

By behaving in such way, Jihei does not think that being “the first in
business” is an essential thing in a business world in order a business to survive
any issues and changes (Lebra, 209: 161). Hence, it can be concluded that Jihei
does not have the quality of very competitive, very aggressive and very ambitious
as a business man.

d. Jihei's being Not Very Dominant as a Contradiction to the Quality of
   “Almost Always Acts as a Leader”, “Not at All Easily Influenced” and
   “Think Men are Always Superior than Women”

In The Scent of Sake, Jihei is depicted as Kinzaemon X or the head of The
Omura House as well as The White Tiger. However, as the head, Jihei does not
show dominancy over his wife Rie. By behaving that way, Jihei is said to be
contradicting the quality of almost always acts as a leader, not at all easily
influenced and think men are always superior than women. First, it contradicts the
quality of almost always acts as a leader because Jihei is not the one who rules
The White Tiger as well as the house.

It is worth to ponder that during Tokugawa era, the Japanese ie, or family
system, was influenced by Confucianism. The ie was controlled by a father, or the
head of the house. The head of the house was the one who economically
supported their entire family members and being responsible for finding the
marriage partners for the heirs to preserve family property and maintain the family line (Kawamura, 2011: 7-8).

Throughout the story, Jihei who is appointed as the Kinzaemon X and the head of The Omura House does not show the ability of being a leader. As the head who is supposed to decide the family’s matters, Jihei never does so. His wife is the one who makes the decisions and decide who their children married to. For instance, when their heir Yoshitaro is in the right age to get married, Rie is the one who arranged the o-miai with the most perfect and suitable daughter of The Tamiyas named Tama and Jihei just agree.

“The Sawada family are not brewers, the Tamiyas are. Your bride must come from a brewing house.” She looked at Jihei, who pulled at his eyebrows and looked at Rie, then back at Yoshitaro. Jihei cleared his throat. “Yes, Yoshi. As I’ve told you, individual preferences are a private matter. They aren’t concerned with marriage. I believe The Tamiya daughter would be a good match for us. A good house.” He glanced at Rie again (Lebra, 2009: 189).

Also need to be considered, in the previous discussion about how hesitant Jihei is, it actually reveals that Jihei is easily influenced by his wife. It can be seen from the way he doesn’t really object all of the business decisions made by Rie. For example, when Rie suggest that they should try to get access to a well in Nishinomiya. At first, Jihei refuses to do so because he thinks it is a bold move, but eventually, he gives in to Rie’s ideas. It shows that Jihei is easily influenced by his wife because he cannot defend his standpoint. It can be seen from the excerpt below.

Rie tapped her fan against her shoulder. “I wonder if we need a test when we know it’s the water that makes the difference. Maybe we should focus on getting the access to the well so we can use it for the next year’s brewing. Then maybe we could sell some to other brewers.”
“This would be a bold move, wouldn’t it?” Jihei protested.
Rie sighed and looked at her father, then at Kin.
“Aren’t we moving too fast?” Jihei protested again.
Rie sighed again, louder this time “Not to move tomorrow would be too slow. We’d lose our advantage.”
Kin nodded.
Jihei glared at her (Lebra, 2009: 145-146).

The two qualities discussed are closely related to Jihei’s status as the mukoyoshi of The Omura House. Jihei is adopted so he can succeed the family’s business. After his marriage with Rie Omura, he changes his surname from Okamato into Omura because according to the tradition, a mukoyoshi will be removed from his natal’s koseki after he is married and he will join his wife’s koseki.

However, it is also worth to ponder that the notion of adopting a husband in itself is a highly patriarchal formulation. It is based on the assumption that women in the absence of men are incapable of managing a home and; therefore, a man has to be brought in to take up the role of headship. Interestingly, the practice of adopting husbands becomes a useful tool for reversing patriarchy or at least attaining gender equality if maximally exploited (Onugwu, 2015: 144).

Furthermore, Onugwu adds that being a mukoyoshi is actually rejecting the men’s masculinity since the status of a mukoyoshi in feudal Japan was so low and lightly regarded. In addition, there also seems to be a paradigm against mukoyoshi by both genders in the feudal Japan society. In the case of male gender, the idea of mukoyoshi tends to downgrade the awe inspiring image of men in feudal Japan as well as acts as a shortcut to success or fame, though it depends on the household, while for the female gender as it is their only chance at equality or validation or recognition (2015: 146).
Jihei, the second son of The Okamotos, originally comes from a smaller brewery house. Though being a *mukoyoshi* is “such a precarious and subversive position” (Onogwu, 2015: 146). Jihei is still accepts *o-miai* in the first place. The reason is lies within the traditional Japanese structure of the household or *ie seido*. Since second and third sons are in no place to inherit an *ie*, a *mukoyoshi* will inherit a household, land status and other benefits which come with heading a household (Onogwu, 2015: 147). Jihei then rises to be the head of The White Tiger, an eight-rank brewery house when the marriage took place.

However, it is worthy to note that after being a *mukoyoshi* in Omura’s house, Jihei becomes a victim of discrimination. He is the last person in the household to receive courtesies while being hassled about his obligations as a *mukoyoshi* of The Omura House. Further Jihei feels as if

... eternally on inspection, judged. He had to be cautious at home, always on guard. The house was growing more and more oppressive. ... He felt overshadowed by Kinzaemon and Kin, with Rie ready to catch him in an error of some kind (Lebra, 2009: 36).

The patriarchal structure in the Japanese society expects that men should be the one who works and connects to the worlds. Feudal Japan excludes women from the society and forbids their full participation in work outside the home is fully deployed to the advantage of Rie. As women are expected to be fit only as housewives with little or no connection to the social world, Jihei is being exploited by Rie. By “[demonstrating] so little ability” in business, Jihei becomes the excuse of every business decisions made by Rie (Lebra, 2009:73). In this case, Jihei is, in fact, but a ceremonial head of the family as Rie is the *de facto* authority or the official head of the house since she has the Omura seal to make the final
decision of every business deal. Thus, it can be concluded that Jihei rejects the quality of think men are always superior than women as well as the quality of almost always acts as a leader and not at all easily influenced.

e. Jihei’s being Irresponsible as a Contradiction to the Quality of “Very Skilled in Business” and “Knows the Way of the World”

In the previous subchapter, Jihei is described as an irresponsible person. It is seen from the way he neglects his obligation as the head of The White Tiger by outspending his time in geisha houses and never presents at the Sake Brewers Association’s meetings. Not only outspending his time at geisha houses and never presents at the Sake Brewers Association, Jihei is also drunk all the time. By behaving in such ways, Jihei reveals that he does not have the quality of very skilled in business and knows the way of the world as a businessman who has received training since he was kid.

Firstly, his irresponsibility is a contradiction to the quality of very skilled in business because if Jihei was skilled in business, he wouldn’t have neglected his responsibility as the head of The White Tiger. When Jihei is appointed as the head of White Tiger, Rie’s parents expect him to be able to make The White Tiger’s rank rise to the first position since he comes from a brewery house too. It is clearly stated in the beginning of the novel when Rie’s parents selected him as the mukoyoshi for Rie.

“[Rie’s] father and [Rie’s mother] are especially interested in the Okamoto son, Jihei. He has been apprenticed to the Ohara house, so [they] know he has had excellent training, and the reports [they] hear are good” (Lebra, 2009: 6).
As stated by Onugwu, a *mukoyoshi* is usually appointed so he can succeed the household he is heading. A *mukoyoshi* is selected by the bride’s parents especially for his skills, health and good character to be their daughter’s husband. Based on this idea, Rie’s parents then selected Jihei whom they consider as a perfect partner for their daughter because Jihei is considered as a well-trained businessman in the hope he can succeed them in the future.

Moreover, Jihei’s irresponsibility is due to the fact that he is frustrated about his big responsibility and obligation to The White Tiger. As discussed earlier, a *mukoyoshi* is brought into a house to succeed the family’s business because the household has no male heir. In addition, since he is not the first son of The Okamotos, he has no place to inherit an *ie*. By becoming a *mukoyoshi* of The Omura House, Jihei will inherit The Omura household and The White Tiger.

However, after being a *mukoyoshi* for The Omuras, Jihei is not ready to face the big obligations and responsibilities of being the head of Omura House. Jihei thinks he has done his best as the next successor who will represent Omura House and The White Tiger. However, according to Rie, all he has ever done is causing financial loss to The Omura House because Jihei’s drinking problem is seen as “the most obvious of his weaknesses” that “embarrass or dishonor the house” (Lebra, 2009: 198).

This makes him frustrated and as the result of his frustration, he turns into alcohol. It can be seen from the way Yoshitaro sees Jihei’s drinking habit as “what [drives] him to drink as he [does]. He [doesn’t] see any role for himself here, with [Rie] making the decision all along. He [feels] frustrated. That’s why he [drinks]
Eventually, his drinking habit worsens and makes him unable to work properly because he smells of sake even during the day and people around him can easily notice that he is drunk.

Secondly, his irresponsibility is a contradiction to the quality of knows the way of the world. This quality can’t be separated from the fact that Jihei is lacking business skill due to his drinking problem. It is because as a businessman who is expected to be very skilled in his field, he does not really able to figure out how to solve problems regarding business issues and how to keep the existence of The White Tiger’s as the first rank brewery house. It can be seen from the way Rie sees her husband as “some head” who doesn’t even bother to present at the office where formalities are needed (Lebra: 2009: 184).

In addition, it is also Rie who always schemes the business decisions to expand their business and insist on being the first in everything, while Jihei is the one who is only outspending the money by having fun at Sawaraya and Kitaya and being drunk. Jihei so that Yoshitaro has to fill in his position every time business deals are involved (Lebra, 2009: 184). Hence, it can be concluded that besides having no responsibility as the house head which makes him rejecting the quality of very skilled in business, Jihei is also said to be rejecting the quality of knows the way of the world, in this case the business world.
f. Jihei’s being Dependent as a Contradiction to the Quality of “Very Independent” and “Not at All Dependent”

Wagner, as quoted by Helgeson in *Gender and Psychology*, avowed that the dependency in a relationship between a man and a woman is influenced by the distribution of power between them and traditional gender roles. In patriarchal society, a husband is expected to be more dominant than the wife since men’s and women’s roles are distinct from one another and they function in those roles independently from one another. This means that each person has great control over her or his domain but little control over the spouse’s domain (Helgeson, 2012: 322).

As explained in the previous discussion, Jihei is very dependent to Rie. This characteristic can’t be separated from the fact that Jihei is a *mukoyoshi*. In other words, it can be said that Jihei dependency is influenced by his status as a *mukoyoshi*. As stated by Onugwu that being a *mukoyoshi* is a low and lightly regarded position at that time, it affects the relationship between Jihei and Rie.

By looking at his status as a *mukoyoshi* which is lower than his wife who has the pure blood of Omura, Jihei does not possess dominancy over Rie. In Kinzaemon’s eyes, Rie is “intimidating Jihei... because “a *mukoyoshi* often feels a stranger in his new home because his position is not so different from a bride’s” (Lebra, 2009: 44). In addition to what Kinzaemon’s thinks about Jihei, it is also worth to be noted what Jihei thinks about his own status as a *mukoyoshi* of The Omura House that “being a *mukoyoshi* [is] something no one could envy, no matter how wealthy and important his adoptive house” (Lebra, 2009: 138).
Jihei’s relationship with Rie proves Parsons and Bales’s statement that there is a relation between superior power and instrumentality and a relation between inferiority and expressivity. They believe that the distinction between the men and women role was both instrumental/expressive as well as a superior/inferior power (2012: 60).

Also need to be noted, throughout the novel, Jihei is depicted as a very dependent person to Rie and his son Yoshitaro when it comes to their business. As mentioned earlier, one of Jihei’s irresponsible behaviours is caused by his drinking problem. Due to his heavy drinking, he is not able to work properly as the head of White Tiger (Lebra, 2009: 184). By showing this characteristic, Jihei is said to contradict the quality of being very independent as well as not all dependent.

g. Jihei’s being Disloyal as a Contradiction to the Quality of “Feelings Not Easily Hurt”

In Lebra’s The Scent of Sake, one of Jihei’s characteristics is disloyal. Not only being disloyal to his wife, Jihei is also disloyal to The White Tiger. As a husband who is supposed to be loyal to his wife, Jihei does not share this characteristic. He spends most of the night at Kitaya or Sawaraya philandering with geishas named O-Toki and O-Yumi. In addition, Jihei also attempts to ruin The White Tiger’s sake by turning the sake to become sour. Jihei does these because he feels as if he is unappreciated as the head of house. It is clearly stated from what he thinks about his position in the house.

The house was growing more and more oppressive. It was like a cage, a trap that brooked no escape. They had no appreciation for his talents . . .
the Sawaraya was his refuge. Here they treated him with the respect befitting the heir to the Omura House, one of the largest and most prestigious in the city (Lebra, 2009: 36).

In addition to that, Jihei also thinks that his obligations as the head of the head are too suffocating. It can be seen from the excerpt mentioned below.

Jihei put his hands to his face, resting his elbows on the table. Huh! Obligation, obligation! This was all he’d heard ever since he had married into this family. . . It was suffocating, this network of relationships and obligations that entwined around him, an intricate spider’s web. There was no escape, no relief, other than the Sawaraya or Kitaya, to a geisha’s understanding ways (Lebra, 2009: 138).

To vent out his frustration that he has no authority in the house, Jihei then sets a plan to ruin The White Tiger’s sake. He plans to cut back the sake production by making the sake sour. His revenge is revealed when he talks with O-Toki, a geisha at The Sawaraya.

“Ah, what happened about your plan to cut back on your wife’s production increase?” She glanced at Jihei.

“Oh, it worked better than I thought. Actually, I thought only one kura would go sour, but all three did. The whole cellar was spoiled. Couldn’t be helped.” He closed his eyes and smiled at the thought of his successful revenge against Rie (Lebra, 2009: 177).

By showing this characteristic, it can be said that his disloyalty is a form of contradiction to the quality of feelings not easily hurt. In Japan, there is a concept that “ones should kill themselves in order to survive the marriage life.” As Japanese believes that marriage is as unavoidable as death, they believe that detaching their feelings from whatever their partners choose to do will make them survive marriage ups and downs.

By looking back at the previous discussion that Jihei is a mukoyoshi of The Omura House, Jihei is expected to adapt his wife’s tradition and fulfill his
obligation as a *mukoyoshi*. Since Rie is always meddling with the house matters, Jihei feels intimidated. It shows that as a married man, Jihei is not able to kill himself. It is seen from the way Rie’s mother see Jihei’s behaviour as “the result of [Rie’s] constant involvement in the affairs of the house. Maybe [Rie] is intimidating Jihei . . . it may be difficult for Jihei to accept suggestions from a woman” (Lebra, 2009: 44).

Further, when Jihei is unable to show his role in the house, he feels frustrated. Furthermore, Rie always “[pushes] him so hard” regarding his responsibility and his obligations as the head of the house, while in fact he doesn’t have any authority and “any role for himself” because Rie is the one who always makes decisions regarding business matter and family matter, even though he is the head of the house. In addition, he feels that he is not appreciated as a man because Rie hardly understands and always so unresponsive to what a man needs (Lebra, 2009: 197).

2. Jihei’s Unmasculine Behaviours as a Form of Violation to the Concept of Masculinity Recognized in *Daikokubashira*

After categorizing Jihei’s characteristics into the qualities shown in the table, the discussion why Jihei’s characteristics as a form of violation to the *daikokubashira* will be presented.

In Lebra’s *The Scent of Sake*, Jihei is depicted as a Japanese man living in Tokugawa Era. At first, Jihei is not a *daikokubashira* of The Omura House because the head of the house is Kinzaemon IX, Rie’s father. After Kinzaemon IX passed away, the position of the head of the house falls into Jihei’s hands. As
awoved by Yamada, by becoming a head of a house, a man will automatically become a *daikokubashira*. It means that Jihei automatically succeed Kinzaemon as the *daikokubashira* of The Omura House.

However, as the head of the house, Jihei does not have the qualities of what a *daikokubashira* should be. While *daikokubashira* itself symbolizes reliability, strength, and stasis, wealth and authority, Jihei does not share these qualities. It can be seen from the previous discussion on how Jihei’s characteristics reject the masculine or instrumental traits qualities, such as thinks men are always superior than women, very skilled in business, knows the way of the world, can make decision easily, very self-confident, very competitive, very aggressive, very ambitious, very independent, not at all dependent, feelings not easily hurt and easily able to separate feelings from ideas.

Before looking at the metaphorical meaning of *daikokubashira*, it is better to look at the literal meaning of *daikokubashira* first. As mentioned before, it means the big black central pillar supporting the house. In general, *daikokubashira* or the central pillar is bigger than any other pillars in the house. The pillar generally has the most important function of supporting the load of a roof in a traditional Japanese house.

On the other hand, the metaphorical meaning of *daikokubashira* is the male breadwinner of a family, usually the figure of a father. *Daikokubashira*, which is placed on the center of the house, at one time will have been blackened with age and smoke from hearth. It means that the male breadwinner is expected
to become wiser from all the life experiences in the same manner as the pillar blackened over the years.

Jihei as the head of The Omura House is expected to have the characteristics that symbolize of this big black central pillar, which are reliability, strength, stasis, wealth and authority. As *daikokubashira* is the supporting pillar of a house, it needs to be able to hold all of the heavy structures of the house. The same requirement is also needed by a father as the head of the house as the one who is able to support his family. A father is expected to become wiser from all the life experiences in the same manner as the pillar blackened over the years. All of the *daikokubashira* characteristics mentioned are not found in Jihei’s characteristics.

First, since Jihei’s characteristics of being dependent is said to be rejecting the quality of very independent and not at all dependent, Jihei also rejects the *daikokubashira* as the symbol of reliability. As *daikokubashira* itself literally means a pillar, it is expected to be able to support the house. The house itself can be interpreted as the family (Onugwu, 2015:148).

By being the one who is supporting the family, it means that the family relies on the breadwinner’s or the father’s shoulder. However, Jihei does not share this quality. It is because Jihei relies on his wife and his son to manage The Omura House and The White Tiger’s business because he can’t work properly due to his heavy drinking habit.

Second, Jihei’s characteristic of being uncompetitive, rejects the masculine qualities of very self-confident, very competitive, very aggressive and very
ambitious. By showing this characteristic, it means that Jihei also rejects the *daikokubashira* as the symbol of strength. *Daikokubashira* as the pillar supporting the house is expected to be strong enough to hold up the house. As mentioned earlier, the house is interpreted as a family. By being the breadwinner of the house, a father is expected to have the strength of holding up his responsibility, mainly financial responsibility, as the pillar for his family (Kawamura, 2011: 7).

In *The Scent of Sake*, Jihei is seen as businessman with so little acumen which causes him to resist any suggestion which could bring The White Tiger benefits. Hence, because of his inability to hold up his responsibility as the *daikokubashira* of his family he is said to have no strength.

Third, by having the characteristics of being disloyal Jihei is said to be rejecting the masculine quality of feelings not easily hurt because he cannot accept the fact that he is despised by his own wife since he cannot deal with consequences which come from his status as a *mukoyoshi* of the house. By showing this characteristic, Jihei is also said to be rejecting the *daikokubashira* as the symbol of stasis. As *daikokubashira* is interpreted as the figure of a father, he is expected to remain in the same manner despite any obstacle before him.

Moreover, it is also worth to ponder that there is a concept believed in Japan that “ones should kill themselves in order to survive the marriage life.” Japanese believe that this is necessary because by kill themselves, they will be able to detach their feelings from whatever their partners choose to do. However, Jihei is not able to kill himself. It is because he can’t ignore the feeling that he is
being looked down by Rie because of his inability to manage the house. Then, his frustration drives him to drink an excessive amount of alcohol.

Fourth, since Jihei’s characteristics of being not very skilled in sake business and being irresponsible reject the masculine quality of very skilled in business, knows the way of the world and thinks men are always superior than women also mean that Jihei rejects the daikokubashira as the symbol of wealth. Being the daikokubashira means that a father should be able to provide the family’s financial needs. By being able to do so, a father is said to be able to bring his family wealth.

As mentioned in the previous discussion, Jihei originally comes from a smaller brewery house to become a mukoyoshi for The Omura House. Though after his marriage with Rie he becomes the head of Omura House, his inability to overcome the issues of The White Tiger and lead it almost makes his family facing financial loss.

Lastly, Jihei’s characteristics of being hesitant and being not very dominant reject quality of thinks men are always superior than women, can make decision easily, almost always acts as a leader and not at all easily influenced. By having these characteristics, it also means that Jihei rejects the daikokubashira as the symbol of authority.

As mentioned earlier a daikokubashira is usually the figure of a father or the head of the house. By being the head of the house, a father “wields so much power that he takes unilateral decisions most times. Moreover, his opinions on any matter are strictly adhered to. An expression of a contradiction or otherwise is
viewed as a threat to the group harmony and well-being of the ie” (Onugwu, 2015: 141).

However, because of Jihei’s status as a mukoyoshi, automatically he is put in the lower position than his wife. Because of that, he is being looked down by his wife. In addition, his inability in business makes him unable to make any decision for The White Tiger as well as The Omura House. By showing this characteristic, it can be concluded that Jihei has no power or authority to rule the house even though he is the head of the house.

Based on the discussion, it can be concluded that Jihei is violating the concept of masculinity based on daikokubashira since he can’t support The Omura House like a daikokubashira should be, which is reliable, strong, static, wealthy and authoritative. By having Jihei as a character who has unmasculine behaviors which reject the concept of masculinity recognized in daikokubashira, Joyce Lebra’s The Scent of Sake is said to encourage that masculinity is indeed a mandatory characteristic of a man in a patriarchal culture, in this case Japanese culture. Lebra’s The Scent Of Sake conveys the idea of masculinity in patriarchal culture can encourage men to be able to strive for validation and approval which may result, whether, in enhancing or devaluating themselves.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

This undergraduate thesis entitled *Violation to the Concept of Masculinity in Joyce Lebra’s “The Scent of Sake”* is conducted based on two problem formulations. The first one is how Jihei is depicted as a man in the story. The second one is why Jihei’s characteristics are considered as a form of violation to the concept of masculinity based on *daikokubashira*.

The finding of the first problem formulation of this undergraduate thesis is Jihei is depicted as a man who is not very skilled in sake business, hesitant, uncompetitive, not very dominant, irresponsible, dependent and disloyal.

Since the discussions for the second formulation are divided into two subchapters, the findings will also be presented in order. The first finding of the second problem formulation of this undergraduate thesis is that Jihei’s characteristics are considered as unmasculine because they reject the masculine qualities expected by society and the second finding is that Jihei’s unmasculine characteristics are considered as a form of violation to the concept of masculinity recognized in *daikokubashira*.

As the first finding, Jihei’s characteristic of being not very skilled in sake business and being irresponsible reject the masculine qualities of being very skilled in business and knows the way of the world, while his characteristic of being hesitant reject the masculine qualities of being able to make decision easily and very self-confident. In addition, his characteristics of being uncompetitive
also reject the masculine qualities of being very competitive, very aggressive and very ambitious and his characteristics of being not very dominant reject the masculine qualities of almost always acts as a leader and not at all easily influenced. Then, his characteristics of being dependent reject the masculine qualities of being very independent and not at all dependent.

As the following finding of the second problem formulation, Jihei’s unmasculine characteristics are considered as a form of violation to the concept of masculinity recognized in daikokubashira because his characteristics do not symbolize reliability, strength, stasis, wealth and authority.

First, Jihei’s characteristics of being dependent is said to be rejecting the quality of very independent and not at all dependent. Thus, it also rejects the daikokubashira as the symbol of reliability because Jihei relies on his wife and his son, whether it is to manage The Omura family matter or The White Tiger’s business.

Second, his characteristic of being uncompetitive rejects the masculine qualities of very self-confident, very competitive, very aggressive and very ambitious which also mean that Jihei also rejects the daikokubashira as the symbol of strength. It is because Jihei is depicted as businessman with so little acumen and always resisting any suggestion which could bring The White Tiger benefits. Thus, he is said to have no strength to hold up his responsibility as the daikokubashira of his family.

Third, the characteristics of being disloyal and alcoholic which reject the masculine quality of feelings not easily hurt and quality of easily able to separate
feelings from ideas. By having this characteristic, Jihei is also said to be rejecting the *daikokubashira* as the symbol of stasis because he is unable to kill himself in order to be able to ignore feeling hurt of being looked down by Rie because of his inability to manage the house.

Fourth, by being not very skilled in *sake* business and being irresponsible which reject the masculine quality of very skilled in business and knows the way of the world, it also means that Jihei rejects the *daikokubashira* as the symbol of wealth. As a father who should be able to provide the family’s financial needs, Jihei fails to do so. Jihei is unable to bring his family to experience wealth since he is unable to lead his family from facing financial loss.

Lastly, Jihei’s characteristics of being hesitant and being not very dominant reject quality of can make decision easily, almost always acts as a leader, not at all easily influenced and thinks men are always superior than women. Therefore, it also means that Jihei rejects the *daikokubashira* as the symbol of authority because he has no power or authority to rule the house due to his status as a *mukoyoshi* and lack of business skills even though he is the head of the house.

Hence, it is concluded that Jihei violates the concept of masculinity recognized in *daikokubashira* since he doesn’t share the characteristics which symbolize reliability, strength, stasis, wealth and authority as a *daikokubashira* should be. In addition, Joyce Lebra’s *The Scent of Sake* is said to encourage that masculinity is indeed a mandatory characteristic of a man in a patriarchal culture, though it may become a double-edged sword for them.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDICES

A. Summary of The Scent of Sake

The Scent of Sake is a novel about Rie Omura, a young Japanese woman living in Tokugawa Era. Rie is the only daughter of Kinzaemon IX, the head of The White Tiger. Since her brother died, The White Tiger has no male successor to succeed Kinzaemon IX. Then, Rie is forced to marry a mukoyoshi chosen by her parents. This decision is made to secure and expand The White Tiger’s enterprise as the tradition requires male heir as the head of the house.

After a thorough consideration, her parents chose Jihei Okamoto as the mukoyoshi to continue Kinzaemon IX’s position as the head of the house. Through a consideration that Jihei was trained in his own family, which is also a sake brewery house. Rie’s parents decide that Jihei is the man who is suitable to be their daughter’s husband. They hope that this marriage will help The White Tiger’s enterprise to be better and larger.

Despite their expectation that Jihei could brighten The White Tiger’s future, he does not show ability to become the head of White Tiger. Jihei often absents in the office due to the fact that he doesn’t see any role for him because everything has been decided by Rie, Toji or Kinzaemon. Rie takes over his position as the head of the house who is supposed to make important business decisions as well as deciding who their children married to. Jihei then considers Rie’s behavior as an insult toward his status. As the result, Jihei vents out his frustration by going out to geisha houses. After frequently visiting geisha houses, The Omura House hears that one of the geisha who is fond with Jihei is pregnant.
To prevent the gossip spreading, Jihei is forced to bring the geisha’s son into The Omura House as the next heir of The Omura House. Not only a son, a few years later, three other children from geishas are also brought into The Omura House because of Jihei’s irresponsible act.

In addition to spawn children all over the town, Jihei also drinks an excessive amount of sake every day. His drinking habit is soon noticed by people around him since he is always smelled like sake. Seeing his condition, Rie then appoints their eldest son, Yoshitaro, to accompany Jihei whenever he goes to Sake Brewers Association’s meetings. Rie also asks Yoshitaro to take care business matter since Jihei is no longer functioning properly as the head of The White Tiger. His reckless behavior is covered by his son in order to keep The White Tiger’s reputation among other sake brewery houses.

As the final stage of his desperation, Jihei plans to avenge Rie by cutting back The White Tiger’s sake production. Jihei ruins White Tiger’s sake to become sour so the sake cannot be sold. Nobody knows that Jihei is the one who ruins the sake. However, 2 years later, a little birdie tells Rie this fact. As soon as Rie finds out, Jihei is forced to leave the house. Having nowhere to go, Jihei finds himself a bar. He drinks sake until he is forced to leave the bar in the night. In the streets, Jihei, who is drunk and homeless now, accidentally falls into the river and dies.

B. List of Japanese Terms Mentioned

Since there are a lot of Japanese terms in Lebra’s The Scent of Sake, some Japanese terms are mentioned in this undergraduate thesis as well. To avoid confusion, a list of Japanese terms is provided below.
1. Banzai: literally means “may you live 10000 years!”; a battle cry to express encouragement to a friend or a leader.

2. Daikokubashira: literally means central pillar; the breadwinner of a family, usually the figure of a father.


5. Geisha: traditional Japanese hostess trained to entertain men with conversation, dance, song as well as sexual intercourse.

6. Ie: family system.


10. Kura: traditional storehouse made from wood.


12. Kuramoto: the head or owner of sake brewery house.


15. Rikisha: traditional Japanese transportation consisting two or three-wheeled passenger cart, generally pulled by one man and only able carrying one passenger.
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<th>Number</th>
<th>Term</th>
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<td>17.</td>
<td><em>Setai nushi</em></td>
<td>head of the family.</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td><em>Shujin</em></td>
<td>an addressing term to call one’s husband formally.</td>
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