

# Exploring Gender Inequality in Shonen Manga: A Cross-Sectional Study of Masashi Kishimoto's *Naruto*

David Mun<sup>1</sup> and James Kowalski<sup>#</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Seoul International School, Republic of Korea

<sup>#</sup>Advisor

## ABSTRACT

The *Naruto* series is one of the most popular manga series in history, continuing with creator Masashi Kishimoto's sequel story *Boruto*. Because it is a product of both the Shonen genre and Japanese patriarchy, the series funnels problematic sexist components in its female characterizations, all targeting a young male audience. As one of the most-read manga of all time, this issue poses a great threat of cementing obsolete sexist values in the younger generation and inspiring other literature to follow suit. Thus far, significant research of the connection between Japanese culture and gender themes in manga are lacking. Therefore, this paper aims to address this gap in research and provide for future research in identifying and quantifying sexism through character strength and roles in stories. The paper synthesizes previous literature on Japanese culture, the Shonen genre, and Kishimoto's influences, in addition to qualitative research comparing power rankings of female and male characters in *Naruto* and the identification of gender roles assigned to its female characters. The paper concludes by establishing the presence of sexism in the series and calling for a more dignified characterization of its female characters in the series *Boruto*.

## Introduction

Naruto is a Japanese manga designed and illustrated by Masashi Kishimoto. Although it divides into two distinct arcs and series: *Naruto* and *Naruto Shippuden*, both stories recount Naruto Uzumaki's journey to become the *Hokage*, the official leader and ninja recognized as the strongest of the villages in the Land of Fire. Even before this journey comes to its end, Naruto metaphorically achieves his in-story goal of being the most influential shinobi before actually doing so in the story: Within Japanese society, *Naruto* becomes the top-ranking manga in Japan before its protagonist lays claim to the title of *Hokage*. This is because *Naruto* is a representative paradigm in the shonen genre, a culturally-defining manga that cements itself in fans' hearts as a romantic glorification of Japanese culture and its many mythical aspects, amassing 153 million copies sold in Japan alone. Whilst *Naruto* remains a fan-favorite and popular manga, its influences on the younger generation are called to question due to its sexist narrative and its affiliations with the shonen genre: a genre dominated by male *man-gaka* (author/artists), and geared to meet the fantasies of male adolescents aged twelve to eighteen.

Consequently, when examining the sexist elements present in Kishimoto's *Naruto*, it is imperative to see them through the scope of the shonen genre. In essence, shonen manga is characterized as a high-action adventure featuring male protagonists that appeal to boys under the age of 18 (Yu, 2015, p. 18). The themes and values represented in the genre reflect the primal desires and thinkings of its intended readers. This results in women being portrayed inappropriately, especially through the themes of female subordination and fragility. Because the genre takes into account its audience and follows this blueprint, the role of female characters in the shonen manga is secondary: they appear as weak and subordinate characters typically in the form of mothers,

sisters, lovers, or subordinates in battle; because *Naruto* is a form of shonen manga, the trend persists throughout the manga work.

But the fault of Kishimoto's wrongful portrayal of women in *Naruto* cannot be only attributed to it being a shonen manga; the issue at hand is at a much larger scale. Similar to how *Naruto* is the product of the shonen genre, the sexist narratives present in shonen manga trace back to the most basic belief systems in Japan. As Shunyao Yu's *Japanese anime and women's gender-role changing* effectively points out, the systems of Buddhism and Confucianism spread ideals that promote the downplay of women perpetuating sexist ideals that remain intact in modern Japanese society and, in turn, affecting female character portrayals in mangas (Yu, 2015, p. 64). As a result, in the case of *Naruto*, the same stereotypical patterns emerge and are even recycled, though in comparison to many other shonen manga works, sometimes the female characters break this mold. Still, the themes of female subordination and fragility are prominent in the manga, and partly due to its near-universal familiarity with manga readers, the importance of evaluating Kishimoto's *Naruto* cannot be denied since it may propagate harmful, obsolete ideals to new audiences and influence new mangas. In this paper, therefore, I explore how Masashi Kishimoto portrays female characters in the series through well-known archetypal roles, providing quantitative and qualitative research of its characters' power ratings and roles to conclude on *Naruto*'s portrayal of women.

## Literature Review

Whilst much literature discusses how Japanese culture causes sexist narratives in manga, there have been few that specifically focus on how it runs through *Naruto*, arguably the most influential and culturally-defining manga throughout its run from 1999-2014. As *Naruto* remains one of the most-read manga by the younger generation and thus has great influence over their ways of thinking, the lack of research on *Naruto* shortens our understanding of how manga propagates sexist ideals to them. To address this, the literature review covers the context behind the sexist narratives present in Kishimoto's *Naruto* as they pertain to the broader Japanese culture and manga industry.

### Sexism in Japanese Culture

There is much literature exploring institutionalized sexism in Japan. But perhaps the text that best describes its origins is Shunyao Yu's text, *Japanese anime, and women's gender-role changing*. Yu explains that much of the views surrounding women in Japanese culture are the product of Buddhism and Confucianism beliefs (Yu, 2015, p. 62). The teachings of Buddhism summarize that the female body is too impure and sinful to reach enlightenment and that the female body is in the worst state to be in the world. Here the connection between Buddhism and Confucianism are clearer as they both institute a hierarchy in which men are at the top, and women are at the bottom, which carries into cultural belief and, thus, artists' works in some form. Confucianism solidifies that the most honorable position for a woman is at home, supporting her husband; and because these teachings in the form of *Jokunsho* became widespread teaching for women in the Tokugawa period, she concludes that these ideals still affect gender perceptions in Japan (Yu, 2015, p. 63).

To show how these beliefs persist in modern-day Japan, she lays out their effects on Japanese society. In short, she explains that they created the ideals that women must stay at home and take care of children, whilst the men bring in income and protect their wives. Because of this, companies employ working women for subordinate and non-management roles since it is believed that they will leave work once they find a partner, and their role in society is not at the office but rather at home. Throughout the text, the themes of female subordination and fragility persist in ways that Japanese women must conform to their husbands, stay home to take care of children, and be protected by men. As a result, the effects of the Confucianism and Buddhism beliefs purport patriarchal values in modern-day Japan.

Although the source provides significant historical context to modern-day sexism in Japan, the limitation of this source is that it solely relies on the synthesis of official reports on female oppression. Because of this, it leaves out an important aspect of gender research: the cases of the non-reported. If this aspect is not evaluated, a satisfactory quantified conclusion cannot be made about how ordinary Japanese women are being treated in modern-day Japan. However, a useful aspect of the paper is that it outlines dynamics found between male and female members in society and specifies roles, both of which are heavily illustrated in *Naruto* through plot elements and its author's style of characterizing female characters.

To build on Yu's work and connect to the theme of roles, in their study "Japanese Gender Role Expectations and Attitudes: A Qualitative Analysis of Gender Inequality," Melanie Belarmino and Melinda Roberts explore sexism in modern-day Japan by conducting interviews of ten young adult women ranging from 18 to 22 years old of age to give context to the everyday lives of Japanese women. The study concludes that Japanese women feel the societal pressure of conforming to Japanese culture and becoming "a good baby-maker and maid," and working in jobs that are lesser and subordinate to their male counterparts (Belarmino & Roberts, 2019, p. 284). Interestingly, interviewees note that such societal pressure comes from the older generation, and because they are in positions of power, it makes it easy for such narratives to be passed down onto younger generations (Belarmino & Roberts, p. 284). After establishing this proof of the impact of patriarchy and elder respect, the source calls for the prevention of this cycle and the promotion of healthier and more righteous views about women in younger generations. Thus, this source and Shunyao Yu's text reach a consensus in that both reports conclude that old ideals and traditions affect modern-day Japan, which remains highly sexist, and call for changes to be made about this view.

## Sexism in Manga

Responding to this call, Hikari Sugisaki and Hayao Miyazaki suggest that the *mangaka*, the creator and illustrator of manga, can foster this positive change in Japanese culture and the younger generation. Sugisaki and Miyazaki establish that mangaka are in unique positions to influence Japanese culture's representation of traditional gender roles, and because of this, a mangaka has an ethical responsibility to subvert the pre-existing gender role representation in the manga and to end the cycle of sexist narratives running its course down to the younger generations (2016, p. 4). However, if upholding this as a criterion for all mangakas, it is clear that they are failing, and it is most evident in the case of mangakas in the shonen genre. Sarah Daugherty contributes to this ongoing conversation in her article "In the Name of the Moon: Female Mangaka and the Manga Industry" as she points out that "many times, women in shōnen manga are often not meant to be realistic representations of women; instead, much like shōjo women written by male authors before the 70s, they are idealized or trophy versions of women meant to advance the plot, serve only as a love interest for various male characters, or be consumed by their male authors and readers" (2020, p. 19). Arguably due to its past influences, the shonen genre is inherently sexist, and sexist narratives run rampant in the genre and heavily influence Japanese culture, thereby forming a self-reinforcing cycle of sexism in Japanese culture and *anime*, or animated cartoon versions of manga works. It seems Japanese culture and traditions are responsible for how the mangaka portrays women in manga, and because the manga heavily influences Japanese culture, manga creators play a substantial role in perpetuating this cycle of sexism to run its course through Japanese culture, younger generations, and even other mangakas.

## Focus of Inquiry

Although *Naruto* and *Naruto Shippuden* are complete as of 2014, thus limiting the capacity to provide better gender-role representation in the series, Kishimoto's subsequent series *Boruto* tells the story of the next generation of ninjas, meaning that the series still has time to subvert its sexist narratives and give rise to female

characters who are represented, beyond the confines of the shonen mold, as equals of their male counterparts. By analyzing the sexist elements in *Naruto*, I create a recommendation for manga artists like Kishimoto to adhere to, to ensure that his subsequent series *Boruto*, and other popular contemporary manga series, do not merely follow the footprints of their predecessors.

## Methods

In beginning research, I looked at popular social media to gain a reference to direct my research. Although a fan of the *Naruto* series, I was unsure of which sexist elements to focus on to quantify my claim. Social networking site, and especially chatrooms and comment sections under media discussing *Naruto* gave me an understanding of the themes that needed to be addressed in the author's work and other ongoing series in the shonen genre. Under most reader-guided discussions, there were protests against how Kishimoto continued to fail his female characters, especially in the case of Sakura, one of the three main characters. Throughout their discussion, fans expressed their concerns about how Kishimoto's depiction of women, especially that they are weak and subordinate to men, may lead to seeds of sexism to further grow in the minds of younger readers and overall encourage unhealthy attitudes about women in society. This led me to believe that this issue and its scope is bigger than I imagined, which led me to conduct research on the background surrounding *Naruto*, mainly sexism in Japan, which has funneled into the shonen genre over the past four decades of manga's popularity.

Two main comparisons are made to illustrate sexism and its extent in *Naruto*. I compare how powerful the female characters are in this manga to their male counterparts and computes what gender roles they conform to. As established, the themes of female subordination and fragility are prominent in the manga, and through this research, I hope to identify them, then discuss how each is represented through the female characters, and the messaging inherent in the narrative.

The research on the sexist elements in *Naruto* is divided into two parts: the characters' power ratings and their role in the manga. First, when determining the power levels of the characters in the series, I use Anime Scale's power ranking videos to show the difference in power between male and female shinobis. Anime Scale is a popular YouTube channel that provides power scalings for major mangas and is supported by a fan base of 262,000. I chose to collect data from this source due to its high credibility and popularity within the *Naruto* fan base and detailed justifications for each of their power rankings, especially since no official power ranking is offered by the creator's team.

Because the paper focuses exclusively on sexism in *Naruto* and *Naruto Shippuden*, I deliberately limit the power scaling timeline to the end of the *Naruto Shippuden* series despite the continuation of power growth by main characters in the follow-up series. To show the differences in power, I organize the data provided by Anime Scale to create separate bar graphs that compare the power rankings of the *Sannin*, the Konoha Twelve, Team 7, and the *Kages*; representing the power scale on the Y-axis and the character name on the X-axis. (Figure 1,2,3,4)

To give a brief background of each of the groups that were analyzed, the *Sannin* ("three ninjas") are the legendary trio consisting of Tsunade, Jiraiya, and Orochimaru. Significant to the plot, each of the *Sannin* becomes mentor to one of the three main characters in the series: Sakura, Naruto, and Sasuke, respectively. Next, the Konoha Twelve are ninjas from the leaf village who grow up with Naruto, frequently go on missions alongside him, and play a significant part in the plot: they comprise most of the important side characters in the series. Next, Team Seven consists of the main characters in the series—Naruto, Sasuke, and Sakura—alongside their *jounin* (elite ninja) leader, Kakashi. Although the members in Team Seven change after Sasuke leaves, for this paper, I define Team Seven as the team consisting of its original members. Finally, the *Kages* are the leaders recognized as the strongest ninjas of their respective villages. Each of the five villages has one sitting *Kage* at any time, but to provide a wider frame of reference, previous *Kages* are included as relevant to the story.

To avoid any confusion and repetition, any characters who fit into multiple groups are excluded from all but the one that best outlines their role in the series. Examples of this include Naruto and Sakura being listed as members of Team Seven but not the Konoha Twelve; for Tsunade and Kakashi, the former is referenced as *Sannin* and the latter as a member of Team Seven despite both having served as *Kage* of the Land of Fire's strongest village, where *Naruto* is set. Including such characters in just one figure avoids double-counting, thereby giving a more accurate analysis of the relationship between gender and power in *Naruto* in discussion. For example, if Naruto is included in the power scaling graph for the Konoha Twelve, the power disparity between the male and female shinobi increases significantly and dilutes the relationship between the gender of the other Konoha Twelve members and their respective power. Though this skews the data by exclusion, it is viewed as necessary because the main character is supposed to be stronger than the rest, and usually extraordinarily so, potentially leading to a power gap created with him and female shinobis in the Konoha Twelve to be viewed as a logical aspect of the plot and detracting from the data interpretation regarding sexism.

Next, to show the roles that female characters play in the show, I provided a chart that compares female characters and their roles in the manga. For visual clarification, I wrote the names of the female characters in the column, their roles in the row, and then color-coded the spaces in between to indicate whether the female character fulfills that role in the series. For the characters, Tsunade, Sakura, Hinata, Ino, Ten Ten, Mei Terumi, Kurenai, Kushina, and Karin were chosen. These characters were selected for their relative importance in the *Naruto* saga and their reflection of traditional Confucian tenets as represented by their character traits, battle power, and societal status, which are categorized as 1) subordination to male characters 2) healers in battle 3) single status 4.) driven by love. (Table 1)

## Results

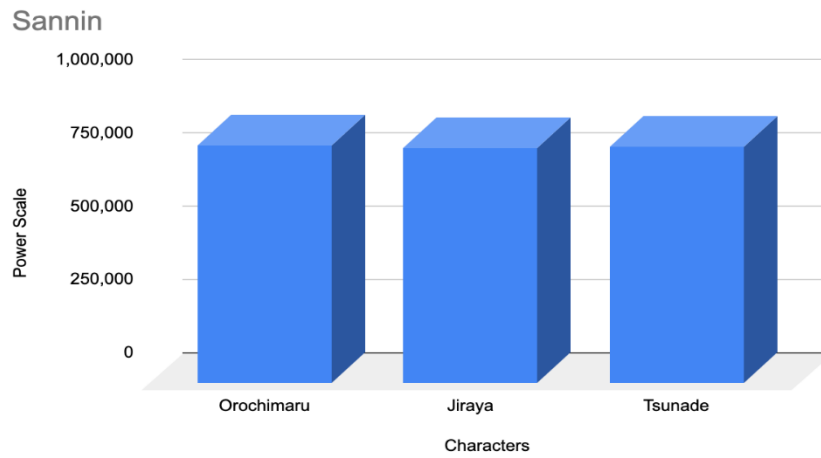


Figure 1. Power Rankings of the *Sannin*. Data collected by Anime Scale.

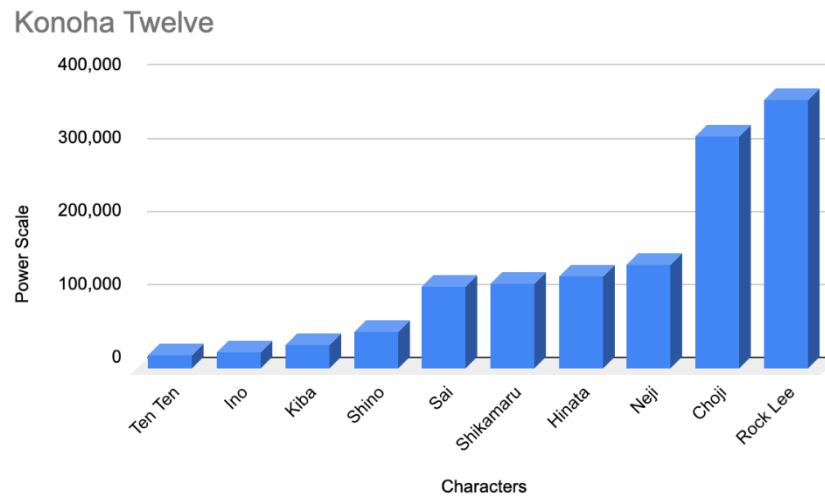


Figure 2. Power Rankings of the Konoha Twelve. Data collected by Anime Scale.

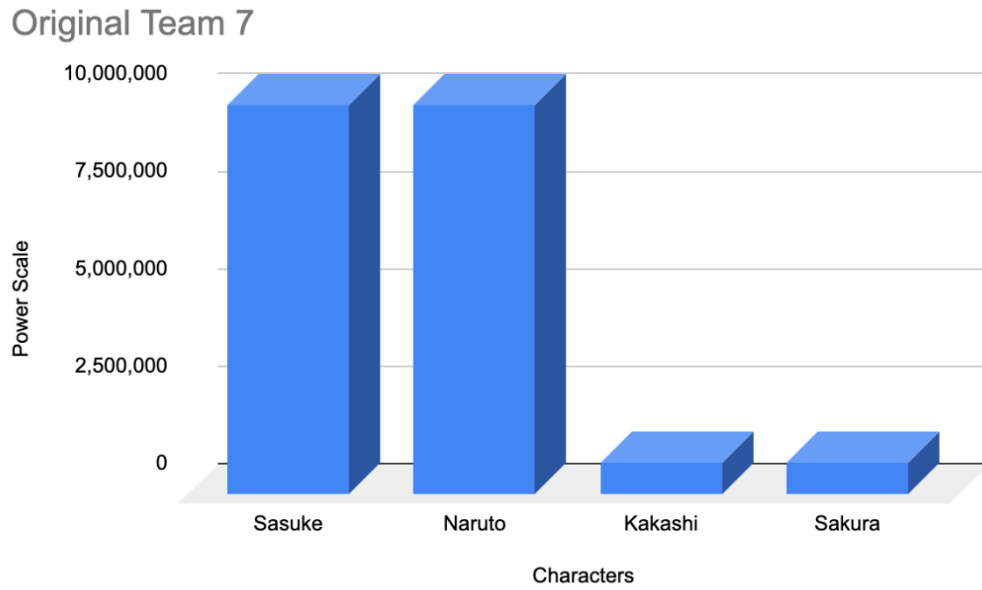


Figure 3. Power Rankings of the Original Team 7. Data collected by Anime Scale.

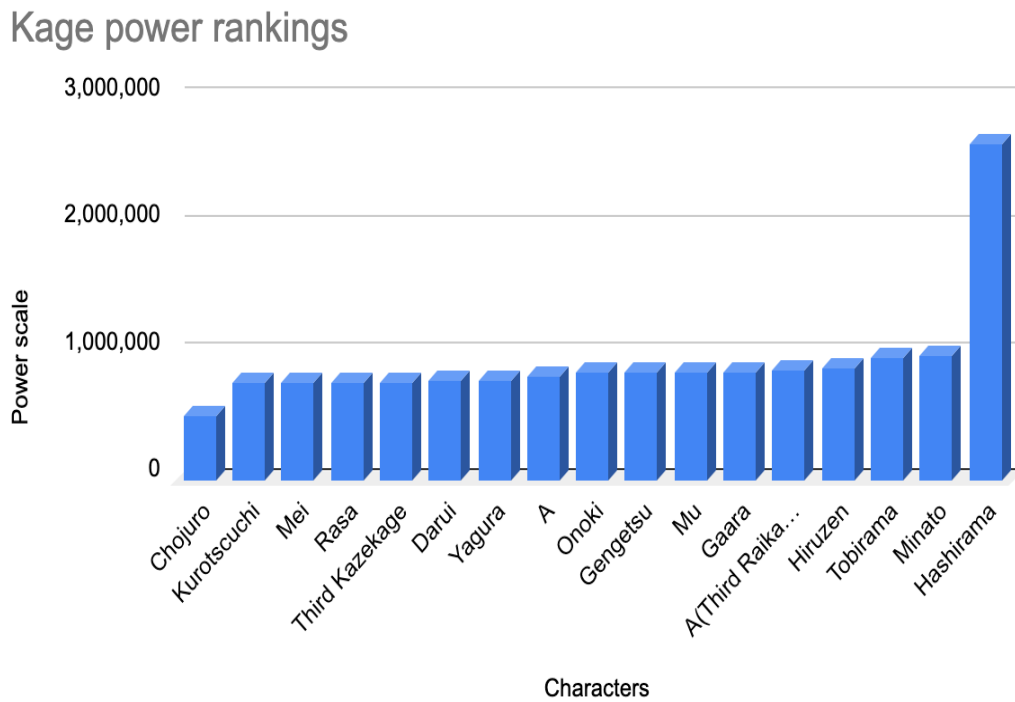


Figure 4. Power Rankings of the Kages. Data collected by Anime Scale.

**Table 1.** Female characters and their significant gender roles in *Naruto*.

Characters	Gender Roles			
	Subordinate to Male Characters	Healer in Battle	Single	Driven by Love
Sakura				
Tsunade				
Hinata				
Karin				
Kurenai				
Ino				
Ten Ten				
Mei Trumi				

## Discussion

Figure 1 analyzes the power rankings of the Sannin. The figure ranks Jiraiya as the lowest and Orochimaru as the highest in terms of power, with Tsunade in the middle. Accounting for the fact that Jiraiya died before his potential growth could be seen, in a more realistic sense, Tsunade is the weakest character on the list. However, that does not take away from how strong Tsunade is. In terms of power, she competes closely with Orochimaru and Jiraiya and is also the only one on this list to become a *Kage*, the head ninja in their village. Focusing on Tsunade, traditional gender roles do not affect her character; however, strictly in comparison to her grandfather, Hashirama, she is much lower in strength. Thus, power alone does not necessarily indicate a sexist narrative at play regarding Tsunade’s characterization, since Hashirama is significantly more powerful than nearly any other character in the series.

In Figure 2, the data skew heavily in favor of male characters dominating the right half. Besides Hinata, all-female characters closely condense to the left, and even Hinata is ranked below three other male shinobis. An interesting point here is that Hinata and Neji are from the same Hyuga clan, and yet Neji is ranked higher. As purported in the fandom, Ten Ten is regarded as the weakest and the most incompetent ninja, and even in the series, her backstory and characterization lack development. Her character is simply marginalized: She does not receive much screen time, and when she does, she often seeks rescue or fails in her encounters more often than note. Ino, on the other hand, whilst not being the strongest shinobi, plays a crucial role in battle. She teams up with Choji and Shikamaru to form one of the most powerful teams, and although her strength is secondary, her mind control *jutsu* is crucial to the success of the team. However, it cannot be ignored that her strength is meager compared to her counterparts and that the average male shinobi of the Konoha Twelve ranks significantly higher than its average female shinobi. Therefore, in terms of parity of power and average representation, the female gender is disproportionately weak compared to the males as envision in Kishimoto’s ninja world.

In Figure 3, the male members overpower Sakura. Team Seven receives note because it is a group consisting of the main characters in the series. Kakashi is their mentor and captain, and whilst Sasuke and Naruto far surpass Kakashi in terms of strength by the end of the series, Sakura fails to do so. This is interesting to point out because Sasuke, Naruto, and Sakura are all trained by Kakashi and then individually trained by each of the legendary *Sannin*, therefore in a more realistic sense, there should not be much difference in power especially because the *Sannin* rank similarly in power. Although men in the real world do have the physical advantage of being stronger than women, in the *Naruto* verse, strength does not play a significant factor due to the use of *chakra*—a substance and energy closely modeled after spiritual energy associated with nature—which can be manipulated to enhance strength if users weave it precisely. This quality makes Sakura arguably the strongest character in the series with her remarkable chakra control and training under Tsunade, making it



almost inexplicable that her character's narrative does not allow her more than a single moment of power parity with Naruto and Sasuke, who then quickly rise exponentially by the series' end. Although a possible counter-argument can be made that Sakura does not receive any gifts of the original Sage of the Six Paths, who founded the shinobi, and therefore she cannot be as strong as Sasuke and Naruto, this argument in itself points to a deeper issue, which is that despite Sakura being a main character in the series, she is excluded from the narrative of the generations-long rivalry between Ashura and Indra (the founding shinobis) and their reincarnations. Neither is she born into a renowned family of shinobi legacy, making her strength a convenient bonus but one that does not give her character room to develop with the story's overall plot.

Similar to Figure 2, the female *Kages* in figure 4 heavily condense to the left. A possible explanation behind this discrepancy is that they do not receive much screen time and do not play a significant part in the plot, which still raises the question of why this seems to be the case. Because as explained earlier, in the *Naruto* verse, men should not have a greater advantage than women in combat, it points to the undertone of male supremacy in the plot. This is because, although there is no reasonable explanation as to why the female characters are always significantly weaker than the male characters in the series, this is the case consistently throughout our findings.

From Table 1, many traditional gender roles persist within the characterization of female characters in *Naruto*. In analyzing Sakura and Tsunade, both are abnormally strong, perhaps the two strongest *kunoichi* (female shinobi) in the series. Yet, they specialize in medical *jutsu* (techniques) and help their male counterparts away from the battlefield. Although they indeed use the strength and time-limited invulnerability of the Hundred Seals *jutsu* to fight on the battlefield, the majority of the time they spend in battle, they act as healers. Looking deeper into the analysis of Tsunade, the Fifth Hokage is also single just like Mei Trumi, the Mizukage (water village leader). They are the only female *Kages* significantly mentioned in the story, through which arises a notable interpretation: Kishimoto's implicit message that women who want to be in a high position must be single and focused on their jobs. This message is further amplified because in contrast, the powerful *junin* Kurenai gives up her position as a shinobi and retires after she gives birth.

Further exploring the idea of a relationship and love, the character analysis of Hinata, Sakura, Karin, and Ino demonstrate that all of them compete for the love of male shinobis. Sakura, Karin, and Ino fight to win the love of Sasuke and their whole reason behind becoming shinobi lies with that same reason. Notably, Sakura and Karin persistently dedicate their lives and risk death to remain near Sasuke, who disregards women in his quest for revenge. Along with Hinata, who admires Naruto and fights to impress him and get him to acknowledge her, the obsession over male characters pigeonholes such characters into the "faithful wife" niche introduced and substantiated by Confucianism.

Reinforcing the results of Figures 1 to 4, all of the female characters in this list are subordinate to their male counterparts besides Tsunade and Mei Trumi. They are all significantly weaker and listen to the commands of their male counterparts. Even Tsunade and Mei Trumi, compared to other *Kages*, are weaker and do not actively participate in the frontlines of the battlefield: instead, Tsunade helps the *Kages* by healing them, and Mei Trumi supports the team attack from far range as a distraction in their major battle against Madara, the arch-villain of their team fight arc.

Overall, it is evident that a) the average female character in their respective teams/affiliations is significantly less powerful than its male counterpart b) female characters who are not in power are emotionally attached to a male character c) female characters are mostly subordinate to their male counterparts in battle. Because these characterizations of women are closely linked to the female characterization of ancient Confucianism beliefs, the resulting impact on *Naruto*'s female characterization is substantial and dismissive. With the underlying tone of patriarchy and female subordination, *Naruto* fails to give justice to its female characters, especially in a verse where the difference between women and men should be minimized. Therefore, Masashi Kishimoto has failed to leave a positive mark on gender equality, time and again failing to provide opportunities

for female character growth that could inspire readers and foster positive change in the thinking of later generations.

## Conclusion

As an avid fan of *Naruto*, I was aware of its sexist component yet had not registered the extent to which Kishimoto's inclusion of traditionally sexist elements would affect the rest of the fandom and other communities. After conducting the research, the results quantified the sentiment of lack of impartiality on the author's part. In this paper, I showed that there is a multitude of reasons behind the presence of sexism in *Naruto* and *Naruto Shippuden*. First, the shonen genre itself is geared to meet the fantasies and the expectations of its readers, and therefore, the *Naruto* series must consist of inherent bias against female characters and focus more on its male characters to appeal more to its readers. Second, Confucianism and Japanese patriarchy have a great impact on the culture of Japan and thus its manga, perpetuating sexist ideals of female subordination and fragility of the female form. Because the *Naruto* is a product of Japanese culture and the most representative modern work by a male mangaka, we see a strong reflection of its sexist values in the series. Therefore, although Masashi Kishimoto must be held to a certain ethical responsibility to prevent these ideas from seeping into the series, the fault cannot be fully assigned to him as he is the product of Japanese culture and shonen genre's influences. However, because this paper outlines the components of *Naruto*'s sexism, if Masashi Kishimoto fails to address this problem in his ongoing series, *Boruto*, he must be assigned the blame for it, as community feedback and general discussion in the fandom has provided him sufficient notice that, despite his popularity, he is not universally accepted. This is because despite what history has shown and teaches today, people have the limitless potential to change their way of thinking on the issue. Although the sexist elements present in *Naruto* cannot be changed, Kishimoto's interpretation can always be. This change in how he views the issue is crucial because the production and consumption of mass media—print or digital—involves a responsibility towards society to make positive portrayals of women without disregarding them under the pretext that fictional representations are insignificant. Because younger audiences consume so much fiction, the aspects that must remain true should not be ignored. To address this issue, there must be more analysis on popular mangas that heavily reflect their creator and culture's views of women. This is because with more understanding of the issue, and a narrower focus on which components of sexism mangakas must address to mitigate the issue, we can strive to create a more positive view surrounding women.

## Limitations

One limitation of this research is that the lack of official statistical data from the publishers of *Naruto* necessitates the interpretation of data provided by the *Naruto* fandom and its content creators. The power scaling videos we use from the Anime scale, although a popular reference to *Naruto* fans, may not provide the most accurate form of a power ranking and are neither officially endorsed. However, their rankings gain credibility because the content creators look in-depth at the manga and consider community feedback, rather than abusing their sole discretion as the video content creators, whereby the rankings may be seen as a representative sampling of the fandom's views.

## Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my AP seminar teacher, James Kowalski for providing me with the research skills and the motivation to conduct individual research outside the course. The lessons I learnt in class tremendously helped me find the sources I needed to write my paper and outline my research to be appropriate for submission.

## References

- Anime Scale (2020, October 1). ALL KAGE RANKED POWER LEVELS - AnimeScale. *YouTube*.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mn7V711LFOM&t=225s>.
- Anime Scale (2021, January 31). JIRAIYA VS OROCHIMARU POWER LEVELS - AnimeScale. *YouTube*.  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=puSthfAg5\\_8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=puSthfAg5_8).
- Anime Scale (2021, December 20). KONOHA 12 POWER LEVELS - AnimeScale. *YouTube*.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PnkMH57Of5w>.
- Anime Scale (2021, May 13). KUNOICHI POWER LEVELS - AnimeScale. *YouTube*.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WGaqecgD7Ik&t=385s>.
- Anime Scale (2021, April 17). SASUKE VS KAKASHI POWER LEVELS - AnimeScale. *YouTube*.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6J2xDUc01aQ&t=281s>.
- Belarmino, M., & Roberts, M. R. (2019). Japanese gender role expectations and attitudes: A qualitative analysis of gender inequality. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 20(7), 272-288.  
[vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol20/iss7/18/](http://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol20/iss7/18/).
- Daugherty, S. G. (2020). In the name of the moon: Female mangaka and the manga industry. *Chancellor's Honors Program Projects*. [trace.tennessee.edu/utk\\_chanhonoproj/2359](http://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_chanhonoproj/2359).
- Sugisaki, H., & Miyazaki, H. (2016). Gender roles in Japanese manga: Ethical considerations for mangaka. *Semantic Scholar*. [pages.stolaf.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/947/2017/02/Gender-Roles-in-Japanese-Manga-Ethical-Considerations-for-Mangaka.pdf](http://pages.stolaf.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/947/2017/02/Gender-Roles-in-Japanese-Manga-Ethical-Considerations-for-Mangaka.pdf).
- Villa, L. F. (2019, December). Classic patriarchal values and their effects on working Japanese women. *Online Journal Mundo Asia Pacifico*, 8(14), 60-75. <https://doi.org/10.17230/map.v8.i14.04>.
- Yu, S. (2015). Japanese anime and women's gender-role changing. *University of Jyväskylä*,  
<http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:jyu-201504221647>.